

॥ नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित् ॥

इतिहास दर्पण ITIHAS DARPAN

अंक 19 (2) (विजयदशमी)

Volume XIX (2) (Vijayadaśamī)

कलियुगाब्द 5116, विक्रम संवत् 2071, ईसवी सन् 2014
Kali Yugābda 5116, Vikrama Saṁvat 2071, i.e. 2014 CE

Editor :

T.P. Verma



॥ नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित् ॥

अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना

बाबा साहेब आपटे स्मृति-भवन, 'केशव-कुञ्ज', झण्डेवाला, नयी दिल्ली-110 055

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Baba Sahib Apte Smriti Bhawan, 'Keshav Kunj', Jhandewalan, New Dehi-110 055

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Published by:

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Subscription:

Institutions : ₹ 3,000.00 (Fifteen years)

Individual : ₹ 2,000.00 (Fifteen years)

Subscription be sent by D.D. or cheque in favour of '**Itihas Darpan**', to

Sri Balmukund Pandey

Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana,

Baba Sahib Apte Smriti Bhavan, 'Keshav Kunj',

Desh Bandhu Gupta Marg, Jhandewalan, New Delhi -110 055

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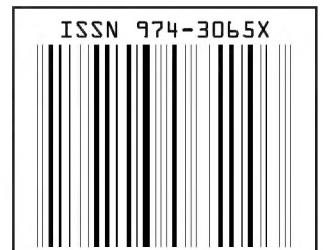
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ITIHAS DARPAN

Volume XIX (2) (Vijayadaśamī)

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श्री अनन्त रामचन्द्र गोखले



श्री अनन्त रामचन्द्र गोखले
23 सितम्बर, 1918–25 मई, 2014

शास्त्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के वरिष्ठ प्रचारक श्री अनन्त रामचन्द्र गोखले का दिनांक 25 मई, 2014 को लखनऊ में निधन हो गया। वह 96 वर्ष के थे। संघ-परिवार के लोग इन्हें 'गोखले जी' के नाम से पुकारते थे। वह लम्बे समय से अस्वस्थ चल रहे थे।

दिनांक 23 सितम्बर, 1918 को मध्यप्रदेश के खण्डवा में जन्मे गोखले जी का विद्यार्थी-जीवन में ही संघ से जुड़ाव हो गया। 1938 में धंतोली-शाखा से संघ का स्वयंसेवक बने गोखले जी ने उसी वर्ष इण्टरमीडिएट की परीक्षा पास की थी। इसी दौरान वह नागपुर के रेशमबाग संघस्थान पर आद्य सरसंघचालक परमपूज्य डॉ० केशवराव बळिराम हेडगेवार (1889-1940) के सम्पर्क में आये और उनसे राष्ट्रसेवा

की प्रेरणा ली। डॉ० हेडगेवार से मुलाकात के बाद श्री गोखले ने एक स्वयंसेवक के रूप में संघ में सक्रिय भागीदारी निभानी शुरू कर दी। डॉ० हेडगेवार के निधन के बाद 1940 में गोखले जी को नागपुर के अम्बाझरी तालाब के पास के मैदान में तीन दिवसीय तरुण शिविर में जाने का अवसर मिला। यहाँ तत्कालीन सरसंघचालक परमपूज्य श्री माधवराव सदाशिवराव गोळवलकर (1906-1973) का बौद्धिक सुनने के बाद गोखले जी ने संघ के प्रचारक के रूप में काम करने का निश्चय किया और 1942 में संघ के प्रचारक बने।

अपने दायित्वों का निर्वहन करते हुए गोखले जी ने सर्वश्री पं० दीनदयाल उपाध्याय (1916-1968), अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी, सुन्दर सिंह भण्डारी (1921-2005), बैरिस्टर नरेन्द्र सिंह-जैसे निष्ठावान् और राष्ट्रभक्त स्वयंसेवकों का निर्माण करने में अग्रणी भूमिका निभायी। श्री गोखले को संघ के चतुर्थ सरसंघचालक प्रो० राजेन्द्र सिंह (रज्जू भैया) (1922-2003) के संघ शिक्षा वर्ग में शिक्षक होने का गौरव भी प्राप्त हुआ। 1942 से 1951 तक कानपुर में संघ-कार्य को विस्तार देने के बाद 1954 में श्री गोखले लखनऊ आ गए। 1955 से 1958 तक उड़ीसा के कटक और 1956 से 1973 तक दिल्ली में भी इन्होंने संघ-कार्य को गति दी। आपातकाल (1975-'77) में इनका केन्द्र नागपुर रहा। मध्यभारत, महाकोसल और विदर्भ का काम देखनेवाले श्री० गोखले को एक बार फिर वर्ष 1978 में उत्तरप्रदेश के लिए भेजा गया जहाँ वह सह-प्रान्त प्रचारक के रूप में कार्य करते रहे।

वर्ष 1998 तक 80 वसंत पार कर चुके श्री गोखले के शरीर ने अब साथ देना छोड़ दिया था। बढ़ती उम्र और थकता शरीर संघ को गतिशील करने में आड़े आने लगा था। साथ ही श्वास-संबंधी दिक्कतें आने लगीं थीं। इसलिए इन्हें लोकहित प्रकाशन (लखनऊ) से पुस्तक-प्रकाशन का दायित्व मिला। इस दौरान इन्होंने 125 पुस्तकों प्रकाशित करवायीं। इसके लिए आवश्यक सामग्रियों का एकत्रीकरण किया, लेखकों से सम्पर्क कर लेख लिखवाये और उन्हें सुसज्जित कर पुस्तकों का रूप देने में जुटे रहे। जीवन के अन्तिम दिनों में ये लखनऊ-स्थित संघ कार्यालय 'भारती भवन' में रह रहे थे। ऐसे निश्चयी, कर्मठी, निष्ठावान, अनुशासनप्रिय माननीय गोखले जी अन्तिम दिनों तक अपना दैनन्दिन कार्य करते रहे। अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना-परिवार माननीय गोखले जी के निधन पर उन्हें श्रद्धाञ्जलि समर्पित करता है।

प्राचीन ग्रीस के एटिका-एथेंस के कुरु एवं भरतजन तथा उमासूना-आमेजंस

प्रो० राजीव रंजन उपाध्याय *

भारतीय पौराणिक कथाओं की भाँति ही ग्रीक की पौराणिक प्राचीन कथाएँ मात्र कल्पना की उड़ानें नहीं हैं। उनकी नाभि में तथ्य निहित हैं, जिनके ऊपर से रहस्य का अवगुण्ठन हटाने और सत्य से पाठकों का साक्षात्कार कराने का दायित्व इतिहास के अध्येयताओं का होता है।

ग्रीस की प्राचीन कथाओं में वर्णित ट्राय का युद्ध, हिराक्लीस के विवरण, थीसियस (Theseus) की चर्चा को स्पष्ट करने के लिए, संकीर्णतापूर्ण दृष्टि के स्थान पर, तटस्थता, धैर्य और अध्ययनपरक अन्वेषण-दृष्टि आवश्यक है। इस प्रकार की दृष्टि इतिहास के तमाच्छादित पक्षों को स्पष्ट करने में सहायक होती है।

ग्रीक-मिथकों में वर्णित सेन्टाउर (Centaur), पुराकालीन एथेंस-एटिका का कीकट प्रतीक (Grasshopper), अपोलो (Appolo), कैडमस (Cadmus), जीयस (Zeus), पीरियन-म्यूजेस (Pierian Muses), केकरोप्स (Cecrops), डेल्फोई (Delphoi) तथा अटोकथोनस (Autochthons) मिथक न होकर तथ्य थे, जो ग्रीक-इतिहास के हस्ताक्षर थे, वास्तव में यथार्थ थे।

विद्वानों के अनुसार : इरेकथीयस (Erectheus) एक मिथकीय ग्रीक नाम है, जिसके विषय में *इलियड* (Iliad) में वर्णित है कि इस राजा की उत्पत्ति अन्नप्रदाता पृथ्वी से हुई थी और इसका

लालन-पालन ऐथीना-देवी ने किया, तथा इसके हेतु एक मन्दिर का निर्माण कराया गया था जिसमें देवी ऐथीना के साथ इसकी भी पूजा एथेंस में की जाती थी। कालान्तर में एक महासर्प इस एथेंस-स्थित ऐथीना के मन्दिर में आ गया और ग्रीक-मान्यतानुसार यह सर्प ही इरेकथीयस था।¹

ऋग्वेद में 'सर्प' शब्द अग्निकारक है² तथा प्रजापति के प्रसर्पण के विषय में *ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण* में लिखा है— 'एक प्रजापति ही था, न दिन था, न रात्रि थी, वह अंधकार में प्रसर्पण करता रहता था;³ ऐतरेयब्राह्मण में पृथ्वी सर्पों की रानी कही गई है।⁴

तथ्यतः यह सर्प-विषयक वैदिक अवधारणा मात्र प्राचीन यूनान (ग्रीस), मिस्र से यूरोप तक ही नहीं व्याप्त थी, वरन् इसका प्रभाव-क्षेत्र सुदूर जापान तक व्याप्त था।⁵ इस कारण इरेकथीयस के सन्दर्भ में पृथिवीरूपी सर्प की अवधारणा, ग्रीस-यूनान में वैदिक प्रभाव के स्वीकार्यता का घोटक है। इसी प्रभाव की व्यापकता के कारण एथेंसवासी प्राचीन काल में अपने को इरेकथीयस की सन्तति (Erecthidae) मानते थे।⁶

प्राचीन ग्रीक-साहित्य एवं इतिहास के अध्येयता एडवर्ड पोकोक (Edward Pococke) की अवधारणा है कि 'इरेकथीयस' शब्द इरेक-देउस (Erec-Deus) का बोध कराता है जो इरेक का देवता था तथा बौद्ध-प्रतिनिधि था। इसी प्रकार 'इरेक-थानुस' (Erecthanus) शब्द इरेक के वासी बौद्ध-अनुयायी जनों से सम्बद्ध था। इरेक-देउस, एटिका क्षेत्र का मुख्य प्रतिनिधि तथा पुरोहित था।⁷

पुराकालीन सुमेरिया के समुद्रतटीय नगर उनुक (Unuk), जिसको चेलडियन (Chaldeans) इरेक (Erek) यहूदी-हिब्रू भाषा में 'हानुक' (Hanuk) और *बाइबिल* में इसे 'इनोक' (Enoch) नाम से स्मृत किया गया है, तथ्यतः मेसोपोटामिया के निम्न भाग के समीप

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स्थित 'लागाश' (Lagash) नामक स्थल के पश्चिम स्थित 'वारका' (Warka) नामक स्थान है।¹

यह भी सम्भव है कि ग्रीक-साहित्य में वर्णित 'इरेक-थीयस' नाम पुरोहित नृप, प्राचीन सुमेरिया के शासक चाक्षुष (2500 ई०पू०), जिसको सुमेरिया की लिपि में गीशाक्स (Gishax) अथवा ईशाक्स (Issax) के नाम से सम्बोधित किया गया है का कोई वंशज रहा हो, जिसने कालान्तर बौद्ध धर्म के प्रसार के हेतु ग्रीस के एटिका क्षेत्र पर अपना अधिपत्य स्थापित कर लिया हो। यह नरेश अपने सुमेरियन पूर्ववर्ती नृप गिशाक्स, जिसको वृषभ और व्याघ्र को वध करने के कारण गामेश (Gamesh) की उपाधि से विभूषित किया गया था, (चित्र-1) जो फिनीशियनों और ग्रीकों के हेराकुलिश का ऐतिहासिक प्रतिरूप था, जिसके पौरुष को प्रदर्शित करती सीलें ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम में संग्रहीत हैं, की ही भाँति प्रतापी नृप रहा हो।⁸

इरेक-हाया बुद्धोस (Haya-Budhos) अथवा भीने-बुदान (Bheene-Budan) या पी-हायकेस (P'Hayakes) के समीप है। इसी स्थल के वासियों को फोनेसिया (Phonecia) और हार्डबेरिना (Hiberina) को बसाने का श्रेय जाता है।⁷

इरेकथानुस (Erec-than-us) अथवा इरेक-भूमि का वासी एटिका क्षेत्र का प्रभावशाली प्रतिनिधि था। क्योंकि यह बूतादी परिवार जो एथेंस का परम प्रभावशाली परिवार था, का पूर्वज था।⁷

इसी प्रकार लीकुरगस (Lykurgus), जो एथेंस का विख्यात वक्ता था, के पूर्वजों के विषय में चर्चा करते हुए प्रसिद्ध इतिहासकार ग्रोटे के अनुसार 'लीकुरगस के पुत्र अब्रान (Abbron) ने इरेकथिआन (Erectheion) से प्राप्त एक टैबलेट पर लिखा था कि हेफिस्टॉस का पुत्र इरेकथीयस था, जो पृथिवीपुत्र था।'⁹

लीकुरगस अपने को इरेकथीयस का वंशज मानने का उसी भाँति अधिकारी था जैसे पीटर-द-राशे और अन्य मध्ययुगीन यूरोपीय सामन्तजन अपने पूर्वजों के नाम को अपने नाम के साथ संबद्ध कर गौरवान्वित होने का अनुभव करते थे।

वास्तव में लीकुरगर-लोगूर-गस के पूर्वज अफगानिस्तान के लोगूर (Logurh) क्षेत्र के वासी बौद्ध जन थे और यही इरेक के पुरोहित थे। बूतादी तथ्यतः 'बौद्ध' शब्द का परिवर्तित ग्रीक उच्चारण है तथा इसीलिये बूतादी परिवार अपने को इरेकथीयस-इरेक के पुरोहित-पूर्वज से संबंधित बताने में, गौरव का अनुभव करता था।⁷

पुनः इरेकथीयस को ग्रीक-देवता पोसीडन (Poseidon) से सम्बद्ध माना जाता है। उन्हें 'Poseidon-Erectheus' (पोसीडान-इरेकथीयस) कहकर सम्बोधित किया जाता था, तथा इनकी एथेंस में उपासना की जाती थी।

'पोसीडान' शब्द लीनियर-बी माईसीनियन ग्रीक-लिपि में 'Pose-da-on' अथवा 'Po-Se-da-wo-ne' के रूप में लिखा जाता था। परन्तु इस शब्द की रचना एवं व्युत्पत्ति के विषय में निश्चित रूप से कुछ कह पाना कठिन है।¹⁰ कुछ लोग इस शब्द को 'भूमि को कम्पित करनेवाला' और कुछ विद्वान् इसे 'धरा-अधिपति' से संबंधित करने का प्रयास करते हैं तो अन्यो की अवधारणा में यह 'जल का अधिपति' है। परन्तु इस अनुमानों के उपरान्त भी यह शब्द ग्रीक-भाषा की उत्पत्ति के पूर्व व्यक्त होता रहा है, इस विषय में भाषाविद् सहमत हैं।¹⁰

'पोसीडान' की चर्चा होमर (Homer : 800 BCE) के ओडेसी (Odyssey), पिन्दार (Pindar : 522-443 BCE) की ओलम्पियन ओडस (Olympian odes), इयूरीपाइडस (Euripides : 480-406 BCE) की ओरेस्टेस (Orestes), ओविड (Publius Ovidius Naso : 43 BCE-17/18 CE) की रचना मेटामॉर्फोसिस (Metamorphoses), हीगिन्स (प्रथम शताब्दी) की फेबल्स, तथा पाउसीनियस (Pausanias 110-180 CE) की कृति डिस्क्रिप्शन ऑफ़ ग्रीस (Description of Greece) में वर्णित है।¹⁰

परन्तु 'पोसीडान' शब्द श्लेष है— यह सीडान-सिद्धान-सिद्धजनों का वास स्थल है; तथा यह शब्द सिद्धों के अधिपति होने का भी द्योतक है। इसी कारण यह देवी ऐथिना के साथ उपास्य था।⁹ ग्रीक-भाषा में बौद्ध-धर्म के अनुयायियों को सिद्ध भी कहा जाता था।¹⁰

देवी ऐथिना अथवा Athene; बौद्धों की देवी -थेरी थी जो इल्यूसियन रहस्य में दे मेत्र के रूप में विद्यमान होती थी;¹¹ यही बौद्ध-धर्म में स्वर्ग की देवी-कुमारी है— Virgin queen of heaven है— यही अधीने हैं, (Adhene) जो ग्रीक भाषा में Athene हो जाती है। इसी की उपासना प्राचीन मिस्र के वासी नीति के रूप में करते थे। यही शब्द कालान्तर में 'नीथ' (Neith) ही गया। परन्तु यह स्वर्ग की देवी ही रही।^{12,7} इसकी उपासना पलेस्तीन में भी होती थी। ग्रीक जन, मिस्र और पलेस्तीन जनों को ही भाँति, इसके चमत्कारों से प्रभावित थे। पलेस्तीन का सीडान नामक स्थल-सिद्धों का, बौद्ध का अधिपति Po-Seidon के नाम से पुराकाल में विख्यात था।⁷

एटिका के नृपों में सर्वप्रमुख सेकुरुपेस (Cecrops) की चर्चा आती है। इसके विषय में इतिहासकारों की अवधारणा बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं है। कुछ विद्वान् इसे मिथकीय नृप मानते हैं। इतिहासकार इयूसेबियस (Eusebius 263-339 CE) के अनुसार इसने पचास वर्षों तक राज्य किया था। उसके विचार से यह शब्द (Cecrops) ग्रीक-भाषा का नहीं है।

स्ट्रैबो (Strabo : 64 BCE-24 CE) ने इसकी कल्पना अर्धमानव-अर्धसर्प के रूप में की है (चित्र-2)। स्ट्रैबो भी इस शब्द को



—King Gishsax or Issax of Erech, the historical original of Hercules, slaying the Lion. From a Sumerian seal of about 2500 B.C., now in British Museum.



King Gishsax or Chaxus of Erech, the Sumerian original of Hercules wrestling with a wild Bull and Lion. From a Sumerian seal of Uruash, son of "The Priest-king of Adab." c. 2500 B.C. (After Banks, BB. 303.)

चित्र 1

बर्बरों (Barbarian) की भाषा से आया हुआ मानता था।¹³ यहाँ पर यह ध्यान देना आवश्यक है कि ग्रीकजन अपने पूर्ववर्ती पेलोसगीजनों, जो वैदिक-भारतीय उद्भव के थे, तथा ग्रीस के विभिन्न भूभागों में स्थापित थे, को 'बर्बर' (Barbarian) कहते थे। इस कथन की पृष्ठभूमि में निहित तथ्य था— नवग्रीकों को पेलोसगीजनों की भाषा (संस्कृत अथवा प्राकृत-संस्कृत) को न समझ पाना।¹¹

स्ट्रैबो के अनुसार सेकरूपेस, एथेंस का संस्थापक था, परन्तु

उसके पूर्व भूमिपुत्र एक्टीअस ऐटिका का शासक था। यह सेकरूपेस ही था, जिसने ऐटिकावासियों को पठन-पाठन, लेखन तथा शवों के संस्कार के विषय में दीक्षित किया था। इसी के समय देवी एथीना की उपासना एथेंस में प्रारम्भ हुई थी तथा इसी के सम्मान में ऐटिकावासी अपने को 'सेकरूपीड' (Cecropidae) (सेकरूपेस के वंशज) कहकर गौरवान्वित होते थे।¹³

विद्वानों का मानना है कि 'सेकरूपेस' शब्द, जिसके विषय में



प्राचीन ग्रीक-इतिहासकार तथा भूगोलविद् इस शब्द के ग्रीस-भाषा के उद्भव से सम्बद्ध न होने का संकेत देते हैं; वास्तव में 'Cecroo-pos' शब्द है, जिसका अर्थ 'कुरु' (Cecroo-Pos) अधिपति होता है।

महाभारत-युद्ध की समाप्ति के उपरान्त कुरुजनों की एक शाखा ग्रीस में आयी होगी; क्योंकि ग्रीक-साहित्य में सेकरूपस जन (कुरुजन) 'गुईकेरस' (Guikers) कहे गये हैं, जो भारत के अटक क्षेत्र के समीप के वासी थे।¹¹ इन्हीं कुरुजनों की स्मृति का द्योतक ऐटिका

का सेकरूपिया क्षेत्र है। इन्हीं कुरुजनों के ग्रीस में शासनकाल के समय कोरी (सिंधु तटवर्ती) जलदस्युओं के द्वारा इस क्षेत्र पर आक्रमण किया गया था तथा इन्हीं की ग्रीकजन 'केरियनस' Carians) कहते थे।¹

भारत के अटक क्षेत्र से ग्रीस में आकर बसे जनों को 'अटोकथॉन्स' (Autochthons) कहकर संबोधित किया गया है।⁷

कुरुवंश की शाखा के साथ ही सम्भवतः पाण्डवों में अर्जुन की किसी शाखा का वंशज भी थेसली के पश्चिमी तट पर शासन करता रहा होगा। इनको ग्रीक-इतिहासकारों ने 'पाण्डिओन्स' (Pandions) कहा है। तथ्यों को स्पष्ट समझ न पाने के कारण कालान्तर में ग्रीकों ने पाण्डवों के विषय में भी मिथकीय ताने-बाने बुन डाले।

उन्होंने इनको एथेंस का अधिपति 600 ई०पू० में मानकर, इनकी स्मृति में एक उत्सव 'पाण्डिओनिस' भी प्रारम्भ कर दिया था। इसका संकेत 386 ई०पू० में प्राप्त एक अभिलेख से होता है, जिसमें इस उत्सव को आयोजित करने के हेतु इसी समुदाय के पुरोहित को पूजा कर उत्सव प्रारम्भ करने के लिए कहा गया है।¹⁴

अर्जुन की स्मृति में उनके नाम अजेय से 'एजियन-सागर' Aigaeon-Sea तथा एथेंस के समीप आइजेयलस (Aigiale) चर्चित रहा है। पाण्डवों के वंशजों के ग्रीस में शासन करने की स्मृति 'पाण्डिओन' (Pandions नामक क्षेत्र से उसी प्रकार स्पष्ट है, जैसे कृष्ण-हेराकुलिश- के दल्भि नाम पर ग्रीस का 'डेल्फी' (Delphi) नामक स्थल।¹¹

ग्रीक-इतिहासकारों ने भारतीय तथ्यों से पूर्ण परिचित न होने के कारण उन पर भ्रमपूर्ण मिथकीय आवरण मण्डित कर दिया है। मेगास्थनीज के भारत-संबंधी विवरणों को आधार मानकर एरियन (Arrian : 92-175 CE) और प्लीनी (Pliny : 23-79 CE) ने लिखा है— 'भारत में स्त्रियाँ शासन करती हैं। उन्होंने सम्भवतः द्रौपदी के पाँच पतियों का, महाभारत का सन्दर्भ ग्रहण किया था। उनके अनुसार पाण्डिया (Pandaea) हरकुलिश-कृष्ण की पुत्री थी। उसका जन्म अपने पिता के राज्य में हुआ था। उसका पिता सूरसेनी (Sura seni) में पूज्य था। यह जोबारेस (Jobares) के तट (यमुना?) क्षेत्र था जिसका मुख्य नगर मेथोरा (Methora) और क्लीसोबोरा (Kleisobora) (?) थे।⁷

स्पष्ट है यह संकेत सूरसेन क्षेत्र तथा कृष्ण की उनकी नगरी मथुरा से था। इसी प्रकार की अन्य भ्रान्तियों की चर्चा जो ग्रीक-इतिहासकारों द्वारा की गयी है, अन्यत्र वर्णित है।¹⁵ परन्तु भारतीय हेराकुलिश-कृष्ण के विषय में उनके विवरण तथ्यों से अधिक दूर नहीं हैं। वर्णित है कि कृष्ण सिकन्दर के भारत पर आक्रमण के समय (325 ई०पू०) से 138 पीढ़ी पूर्व हुए थे। यदि हम एक पीढ़ी का

अन्तराल 20 वर्ष का मान लें तो यह समय $2760+325=3085$ ई०पू० ठहरता है, जो महाभारत-काल (3102 ई०पू०) के अति समीप है।⁷⁽¹⁾ ठीक इसी प्रकार पाण्डवों के सन्दर्भ में टॉलेमी (Ptolemy : 90-168 CE) का विवरण अधिक ग्राह्य है जिसमें वह पाण्डुजनों (Pandion) को पंजाब क्षेत्र के विस्ताता-व्यास नदी के समीप का वासी मानता है।⁷ ग्रीकजनों को भारतीय इतिहास के अज्ञान के कारण उन्हें यह स्पष्ट नहीं था कि कुरु और पाण्डवजन तथ्यतः एक ही वंश— कुरुवंश के व्यक्ति थे।

कुरुवंश का विस्तार व्यापक था। इसी वंश के शासक मित्तानीजन थे, जिनके राजाओं के नाम संस्कृत अथवा वैदिक हैं, तथा इनके साम्राज्य के विषय में विवरण उपलब्ध है।¹⁶ इसी प्रकार प्राचीन ईरान के सखामनीषी शासक कुरु कम्बोज थे, जिन्होंने आर्मेनिया में नये प्रदेश बसाये थे।¹⁷

ग्रीक-भाषा में C और K के उच्चारण आवश्यकतानुसार स्वरूप परिवर्तन कर लेते हैं। जैसे Goc'las को Gok'las भी लिखा जाता है। इसी कारण Cecropos-ce-krco-pos कुरु-शासक हो जाता है। इस तथ्य की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करनेवालों में एडवर्ड पोर्कोक प्रथम इतिहासकार थे जिन्होंने एटिका ग्रीस के कुरु-राजाओं की चर्चा की है,⁷ परन्तु उनके बाद के किसी यूरोपीय इतिहासकार ने इस तथ्य की चर्चा सम्भवतः भारत-द्वेष (Indophobia) की भावना से ग्रस्त होने के कारण, नहीं किया।

कुरुवंश के शासकों एवं प्रतिनिधियों की ग्रीस में उपस्थिति के साथ ही भरतजन, जो होमर के जन्म से सैकड़ों वर्ष पूर्व एटिका क्षेत्र के शासक थे, की भी चर्चा समीचीन होगी।

सुमेरिया के प्राचीन सूर्यवंशी नृपों की चर्चा 'किश' नामक स्थान से प्राप्त पकी मिट्टी की सीलों पर भी उपलब्ध है। इनकी खोज का श्रेय प्रो० शील (Prof. Scheel) को जाता है, जिन्होंने इस विशाल संग्रह को सुमेरिया की प्राचीन राजधानी किश, जो आधुनिक अरब ग्राम अल-ओहमीर के समीप फरात नदी (Euphrates) के बेबीलोन (Babylon) से बारह मील पूर्व में स्थित है, एक व्यक्ति से प्राप्त किया था। मिट्टी की ये पकी सीलें अब ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम में सुरक्षित हैं।⁸

इन सीलों पर कूनी-फर्म लिपि में भारतीय नृभरत, जो दुष्यन्त के पुत्र थे, को बारती (Barti), बारदी (Bardi), बारदू (Bardu) और दुष्यन्त को दुई मूंशू दुश, शब्दों के द्वारा व्यक्त किया गया है। तथ्यतः यह भाषाजन्य उच्चारण-दोष के कारण हुआ है। यही तथ्य ग्रीक-भाषा में भरत के नाम को Bhartia, Brutti, Bharatam Prytanes आदि शब्दों के माध्यम से भारत और भरतजनों के सन्दर्भ में विद्यमान है। इसी प्रकार सुमेरियन-लिपि में कुबेर, जो अलकापुरी में

निवास करते थे, को 'कुवाववार' (Kubabbar) लिखा जाता था जो धन-धान्य के स्वामी थे।^{8,11}

ग्रीकजनों ने इनके राज्य को 'Thes-protia' अथवा 'Des-bharatia' (भरतजनों का क्षेत्र) कहकर सम्बोधित किया है। इनके लिए 'Brutti' और 'Prytanes' शब्दों का भी प्रयोग हुआ है। 'भरत' शब्द का बहुवचन भरतान (Bharatan) है, जो ग्रीक-भाषा में 'Bharatan-es (Prytanes)' (भरत अधिपति) हो जाता है। इतना ही नहीं, ग्रीक-शब्दावली में 'Prutanes' का अर्थ 'अधिपति' अथवा नृप होता है।¹⁸

इन भरतजनों के सौध-राजप्रासाद में स्थापित अग्निकुण्ड में, भारतीय परम्परा के अनुरूप अग्नि अनवरत प्रज्वलित रहती थी।⁷ उनके इस सौध के सभाकक्ष में देश-विदेश से आये अभ्यागतों का स्वागत होता था तथा इसी कक्ष में भरतजनों की जनसभा, जिसे 'बोउले' (Boule) कहा जाता था, आहूत की जाती थी। उनकी इस सभा-सेनेट कक्ष में पाँच सौ भरत-प्रतिनिधि, जो पचास की संख्या में, दस वर्गों में विभक्त थे, एकत्र होते थे जिसमें विविध समस्याओं पर विचार-विमर्श तथा उनका निराकरण होता था। यह सभा एटिका-एथेंस में ग्रीक-दार्शनिक सोलोन (Solon : 638-558 BCE) के समय तक प्रचलित थी।⁷

इन भारतीय गणों के नाम ग्रीक-इतिहास में परिवर्तित हो गये पर यह फ़राट्रीज (Phraties-Gents) एवं जेन्ट्स, जो कई गणों के शासक थे, वास्तव में यह अपने अपने गणों के नियमों बंधे रहते थे। अपने मूल स्थान अटक के समीपवर्ती भारतीय क्षेत्र की परम्पराओं का पालन जिस कुशलता से यह गण एथेंस-एटिका-ग्रीस में करते थे, वह प्रसंशनीय था।

ग्रीक-इतिहास के अध्येता ग्रेटे के अनुसार, 'यह फ़राट्रीज और जेन्ट पुराकालीन वास्तविकता थे। इनका यह पारिवारिक संगठन अतीव सुदृढ़ था और उसमें एकता थी। इस एकता की पृष्ठभूमि में कुछ विशिष्ट नियम भी थे—

1. इनकी धार्मिक उपासना-पद्धति तथा पौराहित्य के नियम में अपने पूर्वज, जो देव के समकक्ष थे, की सतत उपासना करना अनिवार्य था।
2. इनके शवाधान सामूहिक होते थे। प्रत्येक गण का अपना शवाधान-स्थल पूर्व-निधारित होता था।
3. सम्पत्ति में समान अधिकार के नियम को सभी गणों को समान रूप से पालन करना आवश्यक होता था।
4. प्रत्येक गण एक दूसरे की सुरक्षा, विशेषकर युद्ध के समय करता था तथा घायलों की सुश्रूषा समभाव से की जाती थी।

5. किसी अनाथ पुत्री अथवा स्वामिनी का विवाह सुनिश्चितकर उसका विवाह गण में करना आवश्यक था।
6. सह-सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा का दायित्व सभी के लिए अनिवार्य था।
7. किसी गणपति (Phylo-basileus) फ्राटोर (Phrator) की हत्या होने के उपरान्त उसका अन्तिम सामूहिक संस्कार करने तथा दोषी को दण्ड देने की प्रथा थी।
8. अपने गणाधिपति की उपस्थिति में, जो दण्डाधिकारी भी होता था, सभी गण धार्मिक आयोजनों में उत्साह से भाग लेते थे।
9. चारों गण अपने आराध्य अपोलो पाट्राउस (Apollo-Patrous) की पूजा समान भाव से करते थे। उनकी अवधारणा थी कि इओन (Ion) अपोलो का पुत्र है जो उनका पूर्वज है।⁹

इस प्रकार एटिकजनों का विशिष्ट थीओनिया (Theonia) उत्सव, तथा समस्त आयोनिक (Ionic) जनों का आपातूरिया उत्सव¹¹, वर्ष में सभी गणों को उत्साह से संगठित ठोकर अपने पूर्वजों की स्मृति को जीवित रखने का सुनियोजित प्रयास था।⁹

यह 'फ्रेटरीज' (Phratris) शब्द तथ्यतः संस्कृत के 'भ्रात्य' शब्द से निर्मित है; जिसमें एक कुल में उत्पन्न हुए जन आते थे। इनके नियम और उनके उल्लंघन पर मिलनेवाले दण्ड का विधान भी निश्चित था।¹⁹ तथ्यतः यह शब्द परिवार द्योतक था तथा 'गण' शब्द सामूहिक गोत्र के समान अर्थ में व्यवहृत होता था।¹ इस प्रकार भरत, कुरुजन तथा पाण्डवों के वंशज, जो महाभारत-युद्ध के उपरान्त भारत से ग्रीस के अटिका क्षेत्र में अपने को स्थापितकर इतिहास का अंश बन गये, की संक्षिप्त चर्चा के उपरान्त ग्रीक-इतिहास के एक चर्चित पक्ष अमेजनों की चर्चा करना भी उचित होगा।

अमेजन, ग्रीक-मिथकों के अनुसार आधुनिक तुर्कों के 'पोन्टस' (Pontus) नामक स्थान पर, जो पुराकाल के इयूक्सीन-सागर; आधुनिक कृष्णसागर (Black sea) के क्षेत्र में वास करती थीं। उनकी रानी हिपोलाइट (Hippolite) का वहाँ पर राज्य था। इन अमेजनों ने अनेक नगरों यथा स्मिरना (Smyrna), इफेसेस (Ephesus), सिनोपे (Sinope) एवं पाफोस (Paphos) आदि की स्थापना की थी। ग्रीक-इतिहासकार प्लुटार्क (Plutarch : 45-120 CE) के अनुसार अमेजन टानाइस (Tanais) जिसे सरिता 'डोन' (Don) कहते हैं, के क्षेत्र में वास करती थीं। कालान्तर में यह समूह थेमिसीरा (Themiscyra) आधुनिक तुर्की को थर्मोडोन (Thermodon)- तेरमक (Termc) सरिता के क्षेत्र में वास करने लगा।²⁰

हीरोडोटस इन्हें 'एन्ड्रोक्टोनस' (Androktones) कहता है, जिसका अर्थ पुरुषों का वध करनेवाला होता है तथा वह लिखता है कि

सीथियनों की भाषा में इन्हें 'ओइओप्टा' (Oeopta) कहा जाता है, जिसका अर्थ नर-हन्ता ही होता है।²¹

अमेजनों की समाधियाँ ग्रीस में मेग्रा (Megra), एथेंस (Athens) चीरोनीआ (Chaeronea), चैलिस (Chalis), थेसली (Thessely) आदि स्थलों पर विद्यमान हैं। इसी प्रकार इनकी प्रतिमायें भी चैलिस, एथेंस आदि नगरों में स्थापित थीं।

प्लूटार्क के अनुसार अमेजोनियस-अमेजनों के पूजा-स्थल भी विद्यमान थे। स्थाभाविक है पुरुष-संहारणी अमेजनों की उपासना जनसामान्य में प्रचलित रही होगी जो प्रतिवर्ष ग्रीस में थीसा (Thesa) के उत्सव के रूप में मनायी जाती थी। ऐतिहासिक काल में भी इफेसर की कुमारी ग्रीक-कन्याएँ ढाल और शस्त्रों से सज्जित होकर गोलाकार नृत्य करती थीं, जो इनकी रानी हिपोलाइट की स्मृति से सम्बद्ध था।

रोमनों के समय में इन स्त्री-सैनिकों के अनेक आक्रमणों के विवरण तुर्की और समीपवर्ती क्षेत्र में ज्ञात थे। कालान्तर में स्त्री-सैनिकों के लिये 'अमेजन' शब्द का प्रयोग होने लगा था।²⁰

'आमाजोन' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति अनिश्चित है। एक अवधारणा के अनुसार यह शब्द प्राचीन ईरानी-भाषा के 'हा-माजान', जिसका अर्थ योद्धा होता है, से उत्पन्न हुआ हो सकता है; क्योंकि प्राचीन ईरानी 'हामाजाकारन' का अर्थ युद्ध प्रारम्भ करना होता है।

इस शब्द को ग्रीक-भाषा के 'n-mn-gw-joines', जिसका अर्थ बिना पति के स्त्री होता है, से उत्पत्ति मानी गयी है तथा 19वीं शती के ग्रीक-विद्वानों के अनुसार यह शब्द 'ama-janah', जिसका अर्थ हत्या करना होता है, से उत्पन्न हुआ माना जा सकता है।

वैसे सामान्य ग्रीक में इन्हें 'a-mazos', अर्थात् स्तनविहीन माना जाता था; क्योंकि ग्रीस में यह अवधारणा प्रचलित थी कि अमेजन अपने दाहिने स्तन को कुशलतापूर्वक शर-संधान करने में व्यवधान उत्पन्न करने के कारण काट देती थीं।²⁰

इन युद्धप्रवीण स्त्रियों के दक्षिणी-उक्रेन के कुरुगन के शवाधानों से प्राप्त साक्ष्य, इनकी उपस्थिति डोन तथा वोल्गा सरिता के मध्यवर्ती क्षेत्र स्टेपे में प्रभावी रहने के संकेत देते हैं। इनके शवाधानों से प्राप्त स्त्री-कंकाल के साथ विविध प्रकार के आयुध, इन अमेजनों की युद्ध-कुशलता एवं युद्धप्रियता के साक्षी हैं।²²

रूसी-पुरातत्त्ववेत्ता वेरा कोवालेवेस्काया (Vera Kovalesskaya) के अनुसार जब सीथियन पुरुष युद्ध-अभियान पर निकल जाते थे, उस समय उनकी स्त्रियाँ सशस्त्र होकर अपनी, अपने परिवार, पशुओं तथा खेतों की सुरक्षा करती थीं। इस प्रकार वे संघर्ष करने में भयभीत नहीं होती थीं। परिवार की वृद्धि के लिये वे अपने

पड़ोसियों के सहयोग से संतानों को जन्म भी देती थीं। इसके लिए कोई वर्जना नहीं थी। इसी कारण हेरोडोटस ने लिखा है कि यह अमेजन वर्ष में एक बार संतानोपत्ति करती हैं।²¹ ये कुशल घुड़सवार होती थीं तथा युद्धकला में निपुण होती थीं।²³ इसी को दशार्ते हुए ग्रीस के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से प्राप्त पात्रों पर उत्कीर्ण इनकी तीन चित्र यहाँ दिये जा रहे हैं (चित्र 3)।

ग्रीस के समीप स्थित क्रीट द्वीप (Crete) प्राचीन वैदिक धर्म की मान्यताओं का अनुसरण करके अतीव समृद्धिशाली बन गया था। होमर के समय में भी इसके प्राचीन गौरव के साक्ष्य थे इसके 90 नगर, जो उस समय भी अतीव वैभवशाली थे। इस द्वीप की तुलना में एटिका-एथेंस की समृद्धि नगण्य थी, तथा यह क्रीट का करद था।

उस युग के विधान के अनुसार मीनू-ताउरा (Menoo-Taura) के सम्मुख बलिदान हेतु एटिका की पाँच कुमारी कन्यायों और पाँच युवक क्रीट भेजे जाते थे। पोकोक के अनुसार मीनू-ताउरा तथ्यतः मीनू-माँ, ताउरा-तारा अथवा दुर्गा थीं, जिनको प्रसन्न करने हेतु ये बलिदान दिये जाते थे। यह दुर्गा अथवा काली का एक रूप थीं।⁷ मीनू-ताउरा की उपासना ग्रीस में कैसे प्रचलित हुई, यह जानना रोचक होगा।

पूराकालीन सुमेरिया का प्रसिद्ध वैदिक शासक नारआम-इंजू (Naram-Enzu) अथवा नारआम-बा (Naram-Ba : 2600 BCE)

अपने पिता मानिस-तूसू (Manis-Tusu) और पितामह सरगौन-महान् (Sargon the great) की ही भाँति सुमेरिया और मिस्र का शासक था। (King of first Dynasty of Egypt) यह तथ्य मिस्र एवं सुमेरिया से प्राप्त उसके उत्खनित अभिलेखों से ज्ञात होते हैं। मिस्री पिक्टोग्राफों में यह नाम दो हीरोग्लिफों (Hieroglyphs) चित्र-संकेतों— नार एवं मार— के द्वारा व्यक्त किया जाता था। यही चित्र-संकेत पद्धति इनके नाम को सुमेरिया में भी अंकित करने के लिए प्रयोग की गयी थी। विद्वानों की अवधारणा है, कि सुमेरिया से प्राप्त अनेक तथ्यों के आधार पर, मिस्र की चित्र-लिपि का विकास सुमेरियन सभ्यता के प्रभाव के कारण हुआ था क्योंकि सुमेरियन चित्र-लिपि पद्धति मिस्र की पद्धति से प्राचीन है।⁸

मिस्री पद्धति में 'नार' (Nar) शब्द को कटल-फिश (Cuttle-fish) मुख पर टेंटकिलयुक्त मत्स्य प्रजाति के द्वारा तथा 'मार' (Mar) शब्द को छेद करनेवाली ड्रिल (बर्मा) अथवा नुकीली कील द्वारा व्यक्त किया जाता था (चित्र-4)

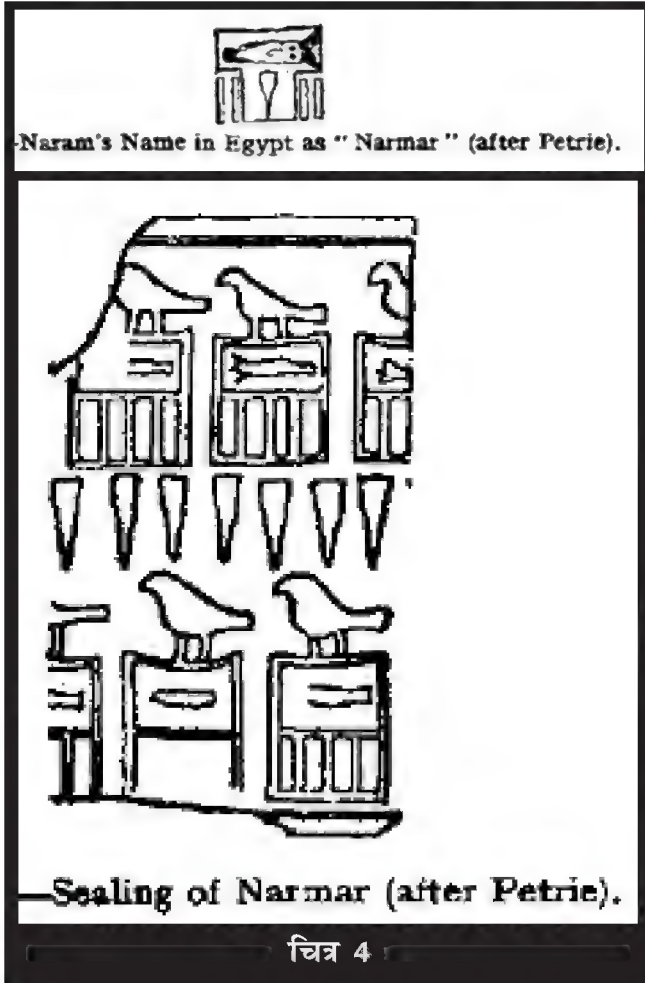
सुमेरियन-भाषा में मत्स्य संकेत को 'पिश' (Pish) कहा जाता है, जो आधुनिक अंग्रेजी-शब्द 'Fish' (फिश) का पूर्वज है। इसी प्रकार बेबीलोनियन भाषा में 'मार' (Mar) शब्द मृत्यु अथवा युद्ध का देवता था, जिसको 'नेर' (Ner) अथवा 'नार' (Nar) कहा जाता था।⁸

इस नृपके सुमेरियन नाम— नारआमा अथवा नारआम



चित्र 3 a, b, c

- Amazon wearing trousers and carrying a shield with an attached patterned cloth and a quiver. Ancient Greek Attic white-ground alabastron, c. 470 BC, British Museum, London
- Fleeing Amazon. Tondo of an Attic red-figure kylix, 510–500 BC.
- Mounted Amazon in Scythian costume, on an Attic red-figure vase, ca 420 BCE



(Narama or Naram) में आम (Am) अथवा आमा (Ama) शब्द, जो मिस्र से प्राप्त इस नृप के अभिलेखों में भी उपलब्ध हैं; को वन्य-वृष (Wild-Bull) के चित्र द्वारा व्यक्त किया गया था। सुमेरियन भाषा में यह शब्द योद्धा और शक्ति का भी प्रतीक माना गया है। मिस्र से प्राप्त नारमार का स्लेट-पलेटे (Slate Palette) इसी तथ्य को प्रदर्शित करता है (चित्र-5)।

सुमेरिया और मिस्र के इस महान् शक्तिशाली शासक ने अपने युद्ध-अभियान में 6,000 शत्रुओं को बन्दी बनाया था। इसी को प्रदर्शित करते हुए इस चित्र में ऊपर चित्रित वृषभों के मध्य में इस नृप का नाम तथा उसके नीचे यह नृप अपने को वैदिक हितियों से संबंधित प्रदर्शित करने हेतु उन्हीं की भाँति की लम्बी, नुकीली टोपी पहने (जो कालान्तर में तुर्की में पहने जानेवाली Fez (फेज) टोपी की पूर्ववर्ती थी) अपने शत्रु के बाल को पकड़कर उस पर गदा से प्रहार करने की मुद्रा में चित्रित किया गया है। नृप का अंगरक्षक उसके पीछे है। सूर्यपूजक हितियों का पूज्य सूर्य-श्येन-गरुड़ (Sun-hawk) शत्रु सैनिक की नासिका को फंसाये है। इस श्येन-गरुड़ के पंजे के नीचे चित्रित 6 पौधे,

छः हजार युद्ध बन्दियों का संकेत देते हैं और इस चित्र के निम्न भाग में दो पराजित भागते हुए सैनिक प्रदर्शित किये गये हैं।¹

इस नृपके द्वारा अनेक युद्ध अभियानों में हुई नरहत्या के कारण, जिसमें अनेक वैदिक हित्तीजनों की हत्या भी सम्मिलित थी, तथा सेमेटिक-चेलडियों (Chaldean) की चन्द्रोपासना और नर-पशु बलिदान प्रथा को स्वीकार करने के दुःखद तथ्य के कारण ऋग्वेद (2. 13.8) में इसे असुर, दास कहकर सम्बोधित किया गया है—

‘यो नार्मरं सहवसुं निहन्तवे पृक्षाय च दासवेशाय चावहः ।

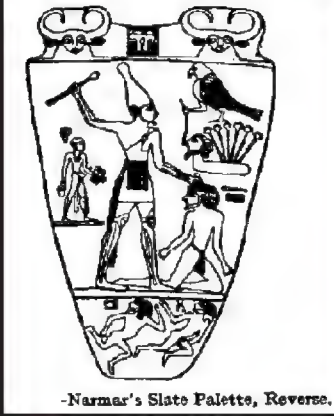
ऊर्जयन्त्या अपरिविष्टमास्यमुतैवाद्य पुरुकृत्सास्युक्थ्यः ॥’

ऋग्वेद के उपर्युक्त मंत्र में उर्जयन्ति के इस सम्पत्तिवान् शासक (King of Ur सुमेरियन शासक) से रक्षा करने के लिए ऋषि ने इन्द्र से प्रार्थना की है।

चेलडियन-सेमेटिकजनों द्वारा प्रचारित नरमेध-पशुवध-बलिदान की प्रथा मिस्र में तथा आंशिक रूप में सुमेरिया में भी इसी नृप द्वारा प्रचलित की गयी थी। मिस्र से यह मान्यता क्रीट द्वीप होती हुई एथेंस-ग्रीस पहुँची होगी। यहाँ पर यह इंगित करना रोचक होगा कि वृष-नृपसंकेतयुक्त 'Mina-Taur' शब्द ग्रीक में 'मीनू-ताउरा' (Menoo-Taura) में परिवर्तित होकर माँ-तारा-दुर्गा अथवा बलिदान स्वीकार करनेवाली देवी में बदल गया। इस शासक की अनेक सीलों को, जो सिंधु-घाटी के उत्खनन से प्राप्त हुई थीं, को पढ़ा जा चुका है।¹ सिंधु घाटी से प्राप्त नारआम-एन्जू अथवा नारआम-बा की सीलें चित्र 6 में प्रदर्शित हैं।¹ यह सीलें हड़प्पावासियों के सुमेरजनों से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्धों की सूचक हैं।⁸⁽¹⁾

सम्भव है कि दुर्गा की अवधारणा की पृष्ठभूमि में अमेजनों का अवदान रहा हो, क्योंकि एशिया और ग्रीक-क्षेत्र में अमेजनों की स्मृतियाँ विविध रूप में सुरक्षित रही हैं। ग्रीस के मेग्रा (Megra) में, लाकोनिया (Laconia) में, ट्रोजेन (Troezen) में, केप टानेनारुस (Cape Tanenarus) में, चिरोरोनिया (Choeroneia), जो बोटिआ (Boeotia) में स्थित है, तथा थेसली और अन्य स्थानों पर इनकी प्रतिमाएँ स्थापित थीं। इन रणचण्डियों ने ऐटिका पर आक्रमण से पूर्व मार्ग में पड़े अनेक नगरों का विनाश कर दिया था।¹

इन उमा-सुताओं (Uma-soona) को विद्वानों ने उमा-पावर्ती-दुर्गा की पुत्री भी माना है; यह विनाश का स्वरूप मानी गयी हैं।^{7,24} इनकी स्मृति अमें-सेनस (Ami-Senus) अर्थात् उमा-सेना, की खाड़ी, इयूसीइन सागर (Euxine) कृष्णसागर, के तट पर स्थित Ama-Stris आमा-स्ट्राइस अर्थात् उमा-की स्त्रियाँ, थर्मिक खाड़ी के उत्तर में स्थित Cula-stri- कुल-स्त्री, अर्थात् स्त्री कुल नामक स्थल पर आज भी सुरक्षित है।



-Narmar's Slate Palette, Reverse.

No. 4. Seal of Narmar as Nerau.

This seal, No. 2 of Plate XIV, reads :—

Seal.

Sumer (Mesop.).

Reads : SHA-MAN IMIN-BARAGE NER-A-U GU-AG-DU-ASH
 Transl. : Under King-Companion of The Heavenly Pharaoh, NERAU at Agdu Land.
 —Seal of Narmar as NERAU deciphered.

Indus Seal.

Sumer (Mesop.).

Reads : SHAG-MAN MAR-NER-A GUT AM²-MA³
 Transl. : Under King-Companion MAR-NERAM-MA the Gut, or Nera the Gut Amma.
 —Seal of NARMAR as MAR-NERAM MA deciphered.

No. 2. Seal of Narmar as Ama-Nera

This seal, No. 11 in Plate XI, reads as follows :—

Seal.

Sumer (Mesop.).

Reads : SHAG-MAD GUT NER-A GUT GU-AG-DU-AS
 Transl. : Of the Lower (Eastern) Land, the Gut NERA, The Gut at Agdu Land.
 —Seal of Narmar as AMA NERA deciphered.

No. 3. Seal of Narmar as Marru, son of the Lofty Gut Gin

This seal, No. 1 in Plate XIV, reads :—

Seal.

Sumer (Mesop.).

Reads : SHAG-MAN MAR-RU-U TUM-U GUT AR² NER-ES GIN
 Transl. : Under King-Companion MARRU, the Lord, Son of the Gut, the Ara of The Lords of Deep Waters GIN.
 —Seal of Nuder, King-Companion MARRU, Son of AR², The Gut of the Deep Waters.

चित्र 5

संबोधित की जाने लगी हों। क्योंकि इनकी चर्चा करते हुए जूलियस सीजर ने कहा था, 'इन आमेजनों ने एशिया के बृहत् भू-भाग पर अपना अधिकार स्थापित कर लिया था।'⁷

सन्दर्भ :

1. एनसाइडक्लोपीडिया ब्रिटैनिका (अंतर्जाल पर उपलब्ध)
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Indian Archæology and Tradition : A Historical Perspective

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Irchæology and literary traditions are admirable foils to each other. They are complementary in serving the cause of history. The shortcomings of one are compensated by the merits of others. If the pieces of information gathered from the two are fused together, we get a

really satisfying picture. The objective, though dry, bits of archæological facts can acquire a lively meaning when viewed through the magnifying glass of literary tradition. The steel framework reconstructed by archæology acquires the form and shape of a definite structure by the utilization of the material supplied by the texts.

There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to how far there can be correlation and reconciliation between archæology and tradition as enshrined in the literary texts. But, as rightly observed by D.P. Desmond, the conflict between the literary evidence and the archæological evidence is a problem, which is of a general nature, though often incorrectly understood. It arises, partly, on account of the fortuitous incidents of survival or discovery, unbalancing one or both kinds of evidence, and, partly, on account of overlooking the nature of each kind of evidence and also the fact that complete and final proof in this respect is not always available. However, the patent fact remains that traditions, to the extent they are confirmed by

archæology, are elevated to the status of scientific history and archæology, when properly correlated and reconciled with tradition, acquires deeper historical significance.

It is often argued by a section of archæologists that, because of various inherent difficulties, for example, fixing date to a literary work and the extremely fragmentary nature of archæological assemblages, the chances of their obtaining precise results become very dim. Still, archæologists all over the world do believe that this kind of effort must repeatedly be made in the light of new discoveries, since there is no escape from the fact that literature, in many ways, is the mirror of the cultural life of a people. In this context, one has only to remind oneself of the very special branch of archæology called Biblical Archæology.

It will not be fair to the literary tradition to expect a complete representation in archæology. One has to be clear about the nature of archæological confirmation of tradition that is expected in such cases. Naturally, it cannot be hoped that all the specific objects associated with any person or event will be forthcoming in the excavation of a site. If such objects were made of perishable materials, the chances of such a recovery become still more dim. The ground of corroboration in many cases has to be circumstantial. If one part of the narrative receives confirmation, it becomes likely that the tradition has elements of historicity. Even with our fervent wish we cannot expect to get confirmation of all the details mentioned in the text.

II

Heinrich Schliemann (1880) was probably the first

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archaeologist who tried to identify the Greek traditions in its archaeological remains. With his complete faith in the historicity of Homer's *Illiad*, he started his search for the city of Troy and Mycenae. In 1872, he identified the 'Palace of Priam' and 'Priam's Treasure' which included two diadems, six bracelets, sixty ear-rings, 8700 rings, buttons and ornaments of gold, an electrum vase and others of silver and bronze, and many bronze weapons. In spite of the scholastic jeers of the contemporary academics, Schliemann continued his search, and, in 1876, while excavating the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, he not only identified 'Golden Mycenae' of Homer but also had a 'gaze upon the face of Agamemnon'. The process once started by Schliemann was followed by Sir Arthur Evans (1921-35) who started an excavation at Knossos in Crete in 1900 AD and identified the legendary 'Palace of Minos' described by Homer. Sir Leonard Woolley (1927) could identify the 'Royal Tombs of Ur' in Mesopotamia. Many other excavations in Lebanon, Palestine and Syria were conducted with a view to locating the Biblical cities with appreciable good results (Albright, 1966).

Earlier attempts to correlate archaeology and literary sources have, in the main, focused on the question of identifying the Aryans. Studies made on the basis of linguistic palaeontology became acceptable to scholars only after the excavation of Bogazkeui by the German archaeologist, Hugo Winckler, in 1906-1908. About ten thousand inscriptions in cuneiform script were unearthed (Bittler Kurt, 1975). When the Czech linguist, Freidrich Hrozny (1931), read them in 1924, several issues concerning the Aryan problem seemed to have been solved. Ever since, then, the authority of the Vedic literature for interpreting the Aryan culture has been accepted by the scholars. In the second half of the 20th century Jean Deshayes (1960) identified the Aryan race on the basis of their copper and bronze tools found from the Danube to the Ganga valleys.

III

Vedic cosmogony and Proto-Indo-European Archaeology

The attempt of identifying the Indo-Europeans in the archaeological remains of European countries is being vigorously followed by Marija Gimbutas (1974) who identifies them with the 'Kurgan Culture' in South-Central Europe. Gimbutas has

identified various cosmogonical and cosmological images of moon, bull, snake, fish and primordial Egg in about 30,000 miniature sculptures of clay, marble, bone, copper and gold from some 3000 sites of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic era in South Eastern Europe along with enormous models of temples and actual temples. These archaeological images are well dated on the basis of radio-carbon analysis and their calibration with dendrochronology in circa. 6500-3500 BC.

The cosmogonical and cosmological images could be better explained and appreciated on the basis of the study of Vedic literature and Purāṇas which have a long tradition. I shall be discussing the date of the Vedic literature later while dealing with the Indus Valley Culture and Vedic literature. But, here, it would suffice to say that on the basis of astrological calculations of a verse in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (2.1.2.3.) Shankar Balkrishna Dixit (1969, pp.136-40) has fixed its date in 3000 BC, and on this basis, the date of the Saṁhitās could well be placed in the sixth millennium BC. The well dated proto-Indo-European images of South Eastern Europe may really be the material manifestations of the Vedic mythological concepts and legendary ideographs (Tripathi, 1999). No one will doubt the fact that the Vedic literature is the first written record of the human race consisting of the best thinking regarding the origin of universe, religion and philosophy carrying traditions of thousands of years. Since exact parallels of the Vedic legendary concepts are found in these archaeological records and, it would not, as such, be incorrect to place the beginnings of the Vedic tradition in the sixth millennium BC., as suggested above on the basis of Joshi's calculations of the appearance of Kṛittikā Nakṣtra in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Gimbutas (1974, 99, fig. 51) is of the opinion that the abstract paintings on Cucuteni vases from Spintsi, Western Ukraine (mid-fourth millennium BC.) reveal the formation of the world from water and the Lepinski Vir (Northern Yugoslavia) stone sculpture in the shape of an egg with an engraved vulva design, dating around 6000 BC. (*Ibid*, p.103, fig.68), gives us an idea of the formation of the world and the beginning of life from primordial egg. We are aware of the fact that there are a number of references in the Vedic literature of the 'Primeval Water' (The Flood Legend) and concepts of 'Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu', 'Ekārṇava nidhi' and 'Yugāntara

Toya' in the Purāṇas regarding the creation of the universe from water. Similarly, the concept of 'Hiraṇyagarbha' or the 'Golden Egg' is well known to us (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 10.1.4.0.) regarding the creation of the Universe. Similarly, the snake, the fish and various other plants and animal motifs, considered as cosmogonical representations on Proto- Indo-European art pieces in Europe, could be better explained by Vedic mythological narratives. At several places in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (5.2.3.), the earth has been described as 'snake queen' and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (7.4.1.25) clearly states that the universe is like a snake and the whole universe rolls with the earth. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* (2.7.201-203) describes the whole universe as an abode of snakes in different forms which clearly demonstrates the cosmogonical nature of snakes. According to *Taittirīya Samhitā* (3.1.11), in one of his creations 'Prajapati' created the snakes and then the birds; but according to *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (2.228), He created first the snakes and then the fish and thereafter the birds.

So far as the cosmogonical significance of the fish is concerned, besides *Taittirīya Samhitā* and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* referred above, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.8.1.1.) describes in detail how a fish preserved the seeds of species and saved Manu Prajapati for creation after the Great Flood. The Purāṇas followed the theory of 'Great Flood' of the Vedic literature and say that, when the flood receded, Brahma got incarnated in the form of a fish (*Matsyāvatāra*) in the deep sea.

Thus, it is clear that the representation of Primeval Water, Primordial Egg, Snake and Fish in the Proto-Indo-European and Indo-European art forms of circa. 7000 BC to 4000 BC have their exact parallels in the Vedic literature which confirm its date in the sixth millennium BC. as suggested earlier on the basis of astrological calculations.

IV

Indo-European Language and Archæology

Colin Renfrew (1987) of Cambridge University has expressed serious doubts about the earlier approaches regarding the Indo-European problem in his book *Archæology and Language* and is of the view that there should be a fundamental re-examination of the very foundations of this theory because:

- (a) It is doubtful to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European language, drawing upon the cognate

forms of the words in the various Indo-European languages that are known;

- (b) Nor does modern archæology so readily accept that the appearance of a new pottery style over a wide area necessarily betoken the migration of a whole people or conquest by warrior nomads and;
- (c) The whole assumption that, in speaking of early Indo-Europeans, we are necessarily dealing with nomads, certainly merits re-examination.

Now, these issues lead us to two fundamental questions:

- (i) How are we to explain, in linguistic terms, the emergence of languages which are clearly related to each other, and which we can classify into language groups?; and
- (ii) In what historical circumstances do we expect to find one language replaced by another in a particular area?

Renfrew is of the view that, in search of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans, the scholars have put forward the arguments based upon circularity. He quotes Paul Friedrich's (1970) 'Proto European Trees'- one of the most thorough treatments to date in the field of linguistic palaeontology:

This short study treats one small portion of the language and culture system of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European dialects, who are assumed to have been scattered in a broad band over the steppes, forests and foot-hills between the western Caspian and the Carpathian, during roughly the fourth millennium and the first centuries of the third millennium BC.

Renfrew thinks that such an assumption is highly questionable. It is, perhaps, reasonable that historical linguistics should be based upon archæology, but that the archæological interpretation should simultaneously be based upon linguistic analysis gives serious cause for concern. Each discipline assumes that the other can offer conclusions based upon sound independent evidence, but, in reality, one begins where the other ends. They are both relying on each other to prop up their mutual thesis.

Renfrew suggests that Indo-European Languages originated with the beginning of agriculture. According to him, the first evidence of regular agricultural activities is to be seen in

Anatolia around the sixth-seventh millennium BC. He, therefore comes to the conclusion that Indo-European languages, too, may have originated there.

The French archaeologist, Jean Francois Jarrige (1980), has conducted an outstandingly successful excavation at the site of Mehargarh in Baluchistan (W. Pakistan) and there is now evidence for the cultivation of cereal crops (Six-rowed barley, Einkorn, Emmer and bread-wheat) preceding sixth millennium BC. in the Indian sub-continent itself.

The whole theory of Indo-Europeans coming to India is based upon a surmise that the Indus Valley people were Non-Aryans. But who knows? The people of the Indus Valley civilization could already have been speaking an Indo-European language. The script when deciphered, may prove this conjecture or may disprove it. But we do find the traces of various religious elements of the Indus people in Hindu religion, e.g., worship of phallus, water, tree, Paśupati Śiva etc.

Raymond and Bridget Allchin (1982) considered the case of pre-Vedic movements into the plains of India and Pakistan. Pointing to distinctive fire-places at the site of Kalibanga, which may be interpreted as ritual hearths, they say:

Such ritual hearths are reported from the beginning of the Harappan period itself. It has been suggested that they may have been fire-altars, evidence of domestic, popular and civic fire-cults of the Indo-Iranians, which are described in detail in the later Vedic literature. It may then be an indication of culture contact between an early group of Indo-Aryans and population of the still flourishing Indus Civilization.

The Allchins do not suggest that the Indus Civilization itself should be regarded as Indo-European speaking, but simply the elements within it may already be recognized which are later characteristic of Indo-Aryan culture, as seen in the Rgveda.

But, since the development of the civilization can quite plausibly be traced right back to its early roots in the finds at Mehargarh, the origin of the Neolithic there is of greatest relevance. The difficulty, of course, for Renfrew, is that 'the area in question is a long way south and east of the recognized early farming cultures in the Zagros', although he does not believe in the 'diffusionist'

model of Gordon Childe. Can we not consider the development of agriculture as an independent phenomenon in different regions of the ancient world?

Renfrew suggests two hypotheses for the identification of Indo-Aryans in India:

- (1) Hypothesis A: Neolithic Ārya.
- (2) Hypothesis B: Mounted Nomads of the Steppes.

He suggests that the successors of the eastern Anatolian languages were thus Indo-Iranian languages and that the original separation would have taken place by 6500 BC, because he believes in the Anatolian homeland of agriculture, and, therefore, of the Indo-European languages. He further suggests three cultural and economic processes for the dispersal of Indo-Iranian Languages:

- (i) Colonization by early peasant farmers of Iran and Pakistan (Mehargarh);
- (ii) Development of nomad pastoralism in the Steppe lands of Russia, i.e. dispersal from west to east (Presence of horse in the 3rd Mill. BC. in Central Asia); and
- (iii) Elite dominance, where well-organized communities of mounted nomad pastoralist, with a ranked social organization, achieved dominance in certain areas by force of arms in the first and second millennium BC. as we have no evidence for mounted warriors at an earlier time.

Renfrew's conclusions are based upon his preconceived notion of the origin of Indo-European languages in Anatolia as he considers it to be the region from where the earliest evidence of agriculture has come. However, the following points emerging from the latest archaeological evidences from the Indian sub-continent may disprove his above postulations:

- (1) The dichotomy between the Vedic and the Indus culture does not exist now, because
- (a) Both the Raos –Kṛṣṇa and Sūrya- from their reading of the Indus script have concluded that the script is proto-Brahmī and its contents Purāṇo-Vedic. This has recently been confirmed by an independent study of German scholar Egbert Richter-Ushanas (Times of India, New Delhi, Feb. 13th, 1999). He says

that there is a "basic equivalence" between the inscriptions on the Indus seals and the *R̥gveda*. George Feuerstein (1999,137-38) is also of the same opinion.

- (b) On the basis of the archæological and literary evidences both Hazra and S.B. Bhattacharya have suggested that the Indus Valley Culture is an Aryan Culture. The evidence of horse bones from Surkotda (c.2455-1860 BC), spoked wheels from Harappa and many other religious practices common to both are enough to prove that both the cultures belong to one cultural-milieu rather than being different cultures.

II. Aryan names have been found in the documents of Mitanni, Nuzi and Khattis (Hittites). At least 81 Aryan proper names (13 from Mitanni, 23 from Nuzi and 45 from Syrian documents) are known (Tripathi,1988, pp.56-65).

- (a) The Mitannian have king Tusharratta (i.e. Dasaratha) who worships Rāman (Rāma) and his family deity (vide letter of Tusharratta to Amenhotep III, dated in circa 1400 BC in the Tell-el-Amarna archives.)
- (b) A treatise on the training of horses has been found in the Bogazkeui archives c.1400 BC). It is written by one Kikkuli, a Hittite horse trainer in Sanskrit language.
- (c) Finally, the Bogazkeui treaty (1380 B.C.) between the Hittite king Suppilulium and the Mitanni king Mattiwaza, invokes the Vedic gods Indra, Varuna, Mitra and Nāsatyas as guardian of the treaty deities. P. Thieme (1960) holds that they were Indian and not Indo-Iranian.

(III) Date of the *R̥gveda*.

- (a) Though no final date for the *R̥gveda* is available on firm grounds, yet it is unanimously conceded that it is the first extant literature of mankind. On the basis of the astrological calculations, the date of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has been fixed in 3000 BC by S.B. Dixit (1969). Thibau finds a mistake of one thousand years in the calculation. In any case, the date of the *R̥gveda* will have to be placed in the sixth millennium BC, if the astrological calculations have any meaning.
- (b) If the Indus Valley culture is to be identified with the Aryan culture in India then, also, the

date of the *R̥gveda* will have to be placed in pre-3000 BC, as the earliest Radio-carbon date of the Indus Civilization is now placed in 3100-3200 BC.

- (c) The date of the Bogazkeui inscription is firmly fixed in 1386 BC. If the names of the *R̥gvedic* deities occur on it then the *R̥gveda* has to be dated long before that date because the concept of divinities does not prop-up all of a sudden. It must have taken a long time before they could have occupied an important place in the minds of the people and their importance were to be recognized by the two western Asian states.

- (d) On the basis of linguistic studies, Misra (1992, pp.91-92) has given the following dates for the Vedic literature :

1. <i>R̥gveda</i> , II-VIII Maṇḍalas	5000 BC- 4700 BC
2. <i>R̥gveda</i> , I Maṇḍala	4700 BC- 4550 BC
3. <i>R̥gveda</i> , IX Maṇḍala	4550-4400 BC
4. Transition from Early Late Samhita (<i>R̥gveda</i> , X Maṇḍala)	4400 BC. - 4250 BC.
5. Late Samhitā Period	4250 BC. - 4100 BC.
6. Vedic Prose of Yajurveda	4100 BC. - 3950 BC.
7. Vedic Prose of Brāhmaṇas	3950 BC. - 3800 BC.
8. Vedic Prose of Āraṇyakas	3800 BC. - 3650 BC.
9. Vedic Prose of Upaniṣads	3650 BC. - 3500 BC.

Mishra (1992, p. 94) further concludes that :

- Old Indo-Aryan belongs to a very early period like 5000 BC. or a much earlier date;
- India was the original home of Indo-Iranian;
- It is quite likely that India was the original home of the Satm branch of the Indo-European; and
- Possibly, India is the original home of Indo-European.

On the basis of the new findings sketched above, it seems plausible to think of the origins of the Indo-European languages in the Indian sub-continent itself of which the earliest known text, the *R̥gveda*, is available only here in India.

V

In India, the scholars turned to archæology for the verification of the Epic stories quite late. B.B. Lal (1954) is the first archæologist who tried to identify the Epic city of Hastinapur by excavating a site of the same name near Meerut in U.P., although

Pargiter, a great proponent of the value of historical tradition, had asserted long back in 1922: 'the general trustworthiness of the tradition is the fact demonstrated, whenever it has been possible to test tradition by results of discoveries and excavations' (Pargiter, 1962, p.6). The process once started by B.B. Lal has been carried over by Sankalia, Wakankar and other archaeologists and historians of fame. *Puratāttva* no. 8 is very largely devoted to the discussion on the central theme entitled 'Archæology and Tradition'.

The present position in India is that whereas a group of scholars believes that the traditions contain some real truths, and that they refer to genuine historical events, scholars like D.C. Sircar, M.C. Joshi (1975-76) and Romila Thapar (1975-76) consider that 'in the absence of contemporary written records or deciphered scripts, an attempt to correlate archæological material with traditional accounts of the past becomes a venture into speculation'. Despite these doubts there are many historians and archæologists in India who identify tradition with archæology. R.S. Sharma (1975-76) is of the view that the Painted Grey Ware (P.G.W.) culture is 'comparable on many counts to the material culture of later Vedic texts'. Sankalia (1975-76) has been consistently arguing the case of various Chalcolithic and Neolithic cultures of India with the Vedic and Puranic Tribes. We all know that B.B. Lal has been working on the Projects of 'Archæology of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa'. Thapar (1975-76) considers that the efforts to correlate archæology with tradition must be made but the approach has to be 'contextual' rather than 'textual'. Chattopadhyaya (1975-76) advocates that in order to understand the ancient historical trends in their right perspective 'a total 'structural study of society and the major trends of societal change in terms of both archæology and literary tradition' be made. Malati J. Shendge (1975-76) may be right in saying that:

It is possible to verify the literary tradition through archæological findings and the literary tradition may also be used to throw light on the archæological remains without which they may be best described as artefacts which do not seem to breathe life on their own ... If a coherent picture is to be drawn, both literary and archæological evidence have to go hand in hand.

VI

In post-independence India much of the writing of history is based upon the synthesis of archæology and tradition. Archaeological cultural sequence for a given region is a paradigm with which the traditional cultural-framework of the same region (as from Purāṇic data) will have to be compared and the resultant congruency will have to be taken as the best fitting restoration of the past. Traditional data in India does not necessarily lack authenticity of occurrence but mainly lack chronological consistency or cohesion. Archaeological data provides this invaluable corrective. In the field of protohistory of India, a number of books has been published by both the Indian and foreign writers based upon tradition and archæology and many of the problems faced by the historians in pre-independence period seem to have been solved. I can not deal with all the problems in this paper. But I will certainly like to mention here two very important areas in which major break-through has been achieved:

- (1) The Indus Valley Civilization.
 - (2) Historicity of the two great Epics of India, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.
- (1) Ever since the publication of the book (Archæology and Tradition) of the writer of this paper, where it has been argued, on the basis of archæological data, that the Vedic civilization is an indigenous phenomenon (Tripathi, 1988), a number of important publications has appeared arguing on the same line (K.D. Sethna, 1992, 1997; S.R. Rao, 1991; Bhagawan Singh, 1995; S.P. Gupta, 1995; B. B. Lal, 1997 and George Feuerstein, et. al., 1999). Most of these publications suggest that the dichotomy between the Indus and the Vedic cultures suggested by Western scholars and followed by some Indian scholars for over fifty years is now no more tenable in view of the latest researches and archæological findings. Scholars working in India have largely come to realize that the Indus and the Vedic civilizations were one and the same and that the Indus-Sarasvatī civilization was not pre-Aryan but essentially Vedic and sacred hymns of the Vedas were the product of the religious genius of the people who created the urban civilization of the Land of Seven Rivers. Various arguments given in favor of the above view cannot be discussed in detail due to the

lack of space, but I would certainly like to place here some of them:

- (a) The basic arguments behind the Aryan invasion theory is now no more acceptable in view of the latest researches in the field of archæology, both in India and abroad. The whole theory was propounded on the hypothesis that the Vedic culture cannot be dated before the fifteenth century BC and that the Harappan Culture was destroyed by the Aryans in that century. With the latest theory of Renfrew (1987) about the origin of Indo-European languages along with agriculture and the evidence of agriculture coming from Mehargarh in the seventh millennium BC, we need not assume that the Vedic people were necessarily foreign to Indian soil. They could well have been native of India. So far as the date of the Rig Veda is concerned, it is now widely agreed that the mention of a stellar configuration that corresponds to a date from 6000-7000 BC- the astronomical Aśvinī era - has to be taken seriously (George Feuerstein, 1999, p.107) and that the Rig Veda has to be dated much before the Indus Civilization. S. P. Gupta has dated the beginnings of the Indus civilization in the fifth millennium BC. on the basis of the various Carbon-14 dates available from the Indus sites in Pakistan and India (Kot-Diji, Bala Kot and other sites) and has concluded that 'the Harappan civilization could easily be placed along with Mesopotamian civilization, so far as the antiquity of both the civilizations is concerned.' Gupta has further argued for the indigenous origin of the great civilization in India and has successfully argued that the 'effective long-distance trade with West Asia was the outcome of urbanization of India and not vice-versa' (Gupta, 1996).
- (b) The recent study of Bhagawan Singh has clearly proved that the Vedic people were not the primitive nomadic pastoralists, as Max Muller once thought them to be, but were in fact fully aware of the craft specializations of the urban culture and were good navigators who could have trading contacts with western Asian countries (Singh, 1995).
- © Urban-rural dichotomy of the Indus and Vedic cultures is no more tenable in view of the fact

that no urban culture can sustain without a rural background and that there are various references to Āryan towns (asmanmayi puri, ayasi puri) in the *Rgveda* itself. The Vedic texts show cities as an integral part of the Vedic culture. Furthermore, the use of chariots by the Vedic Aryans, which could not be the vehicles of nomads, as argued by western scholars, but of urban elite (Feuerstein, 1999, p.157), proves this.

- (d) That the Vedic Aryans knew copper (ayas) and have used the metal for making tools and weapons (Tripathi, 1988). Since copper/bronze tools and weapons are found in large number from the archæological sites associated with the Indus-Saraswati culture it would be fair to identify the two cultures as one.
- (e) Many Harappan sites have yielded fire altars constructed in the same manner as those of the Vedic people (Kalibangan, Lothal etc.). Feuerstein (1999, p.157) has argued that sacrificial implements corresponding to those used in the Soma sacrifice, central to the Vedic religion, have also been found.
- (f) I have already discussed above the continuity of the various religious traditions of the Indus valley civilization in the Vedic and the later Hindu religion. The theory of the non-presence of true domesticated horse from Harappan sites is no longer substantiated in view of the evidence from the sites like Mohenjodaro, Kalibangan, Ropar and Surkotda.

Thus, it is clear that the recent studies of the Indus civilization in the light of the Vedic texts have proved earlier formulations about the history and culture absolutely baseless, concocted and false.

- 2. At the time of Independence, in northern India a wide archæological gap between the end of the Indus Civilization and the early Historical Period existed, which was termed as 'Dark Age'. Due to persistent efforts, archæologists have been able to fill this gap. O.C.P., P.G.W., and N.B.P. cultures have been unearthed in clear chronological sequence. Bhagawanpura gave us the evidence of amalgam of a diluted Harappan culture and other post-Harappan elements with P.G.W. culture which overlaps. The Copper Hoards of Ganga basin have since been assigned their chronological horizon

broadly in the second millennium BC.

Dealing with another aspect of the so-called "Dark Age", it has been possible to ascertain that, after all, these may be historical base, however attenuated, for the two great Indian epics, viz. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Excavations at Hastinapur, the capital of the Kauravas, or explorations at Panipat, Sonapat, Baghpat, Indrapat and Tilpat (the five villages the Pandavas asked for to come to truce with Kauravas) or Mathura from where Lord Krishna hailed, or even Ahicchatra, the home of Draupadi - all have yielded P.G.W. Culture as the lowest common denominator.

So far as the archæology of Ramayana is concerned nothing very specific has come to light. Excavations conducted by B.B. Lal at Ayodhya has become controversial. However, an inscription of the early medieval period from the ruins of the debris of Babri Masjid do suggest that it was the old Ayodhya of Ram where a temple was constructed to worship him. We may get some remnants of the ancient Ayodhya if a planned excavation is carried out at that place or at any other place associated with ancient Rāmāyana.

Any study of ancient civilization has to be made not by rejecting the tradition of the region concerned, if available, but by taking note of it and by critically examining it in the light of all available evidences. It is true that the archæological excavations and explorations in India are still to make rapid strides. However, we can hope that, like other ancient civilizations e.g., Greece, Mesopotamia, Palestine etc., we may also be able to prove the authenticity of our tradition some day. The coordination between archæology and tradition is unquestionably highly desirable. But the real question is the extent to which it is feasible. The archæological data is not always forthcoming or often not very vocal. We make whatever is available to speak out. It is here that traditions come to our help. Traditions are not to be dismissed as garbled narratives full of mythological nonsense and absurd details. With all the problems about their available form and intriguing chronological stratification, they look back to a very early time, often coterminous with the occurrence of the events. In this sense, they have the respectability of a contemporary record. They are, no doubt, couched in their own peculiar idioms and expressions. We have, therefore, to understand and appreciate their

language and style to be able to read their meaning. In interpreting mythological narratives, we have to recognize the underlying philosophical ideas and beliefs. For them, the supernatural is an integral part of their cosmos and operates at the level of the worldly. The divine and semi-divine mix with human beings, birds and beasts. They can have all sorts of feelings and relations with man. This sympathetic understanding can eliminate the Yakṣa like quality of what appears to us the mist of mythology surrounding traditional narratives. Such an approach opens up for us a world of matchless information and details. A traditional narrative can be said to be archæologically confirmed if we find evidence for such details in a period to which the tradition relates.

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कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र में शिल्पशिक्षा का स्वरूप

डॉ० रुचि श्रीवास्तव *

कि

सी भी युगविशेष में साहित्य एवं शिल्प-स्थापत्य का अध्ययन तद्युगीन आचार्यों के व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व की मीमांसा के बिना पूर्ण नहीं माना जा सकता। आधुनिक शिक्षा-मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने भी शिक्षारूपी त्रिकोण में शिक्षक को

अन्यतम स्थान दिया है। प्राचीन भारत के प्रसिद्ध आचार्य कौटिल्य की कृति *अर्थशास्त्र* का भारतीय इतिहास में अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। इस ग्रन्थ से विविध प्रकार के शिल्पों तथा तत्कालीन औद्योगिक और व्यापारिक नीतियों पर विस्तृत ढंग से प्रकाश पड़ता है जिससे मौर्य-युग में प्रचलित शिल्पशिक्षा के स्वरूप पर प्रकाश डाला जा सकता है। प्रस्तुत शोध-आलेख का उद्देश्य *अर्थशास्त्र* में वर्णित शिल्पशिक्षा के विविध पक्षों को उद्घाटित करना है।

अर्थशास्त्र में वर्णित शिल्प की अवधारणा :

आचार्य कौटिल्य ने मोटे रूप से कार्य करनेवाले को 'कारु' नाम और सूक्ष्म कारीगरी का कार्य करनेवाले को 'शिल्पी' नाम दिया है।¹ कौटिल्य ने *अर्थशास्त्र* में 'शिल्पी' शब्द की व्याख्या करते हुए स्नायक, संवाहक, अरन्तक, रजक, मालाकार आदि को तो 'शिल्पी' कहा ही है, इसके साथ साथ उबटन बनाना, सुगन्धित चूर्ण तैयार करना, चन्दन द्रव तैयार करना भी शिल्पियों का ही कार्य माना है। *अर्थशास्त्र* में शिल्पियों के लिए कारि के स्थान पर 'कारु' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है। सैन्यशिक्षा को भी शिल्प कहा गया है² तथा राजा द्वारा सेना का निरीक्षण भी 'शिल्पदर्शन' कहा गया है।³

मौर्य-युग में कारीगरों (कारु) को राजकीय प्रश्रय प्राप्त था। कौटिल्य⁴ लिखते हैं कि 'कोई भी नागरिक किसी भी शिल्पी के

व्यावसायिक प्रतिभा (कर्म गुण), आजीविका (आजीव), उनके द्वारा निर्मित वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रय अथवा उनकी संस्थाओं के सामूहिक विकास को क्षति पहुँचाने की चेष्टा करे तो ऐसे व्यक्ति को कम-से-कम एक सहस्र मुद्राओं के दण्ड का निर्धारण किया जाय।' इस कथन से स्पष्ट है कि मौर्यकालीन समाज में शिल्पियों को समादरणीय स्थान प्राप्त था।

अर्थशास्त्र में अनेक विद्याओं तथा कलाओं का उल्लेख किया गया है। कौटिल्य ने मौहूर्तिकों (ज्योतिशियों), नैमित्तिकों (शकुन विचारकों) (1.0,2.4,5.3) लक्षणविदों (सामुद्रिकशास्त्रियों 1.12), अंगविद्या (13.1), जादूगरों और ऐंद्रजालिकों (जंभकविद्या, माया और माया योग 1.12,5.3), सपेरों (जांगलविदों), सूतों, मागधों, प्रश्नविद्या, स्वप्न-पक्षी व्यवहार, सर्पविद्या (4.13), रत्नपरीक्षा (2.2) धातुशास्त्र (2.12), शुल्बशास्त्र (2.12) आदि कलाओं एवं विद्याओं का उल्लेख किया है।

कौटिल्य ने अनेक प्रकार के शिल्पों, शिल्पकारों एवं व्यवसायों का उल्लेख किया है जिससे तत्कालीन शैल्पिक समृद्धि का विवरण प्राप्त होता है।

यद्यपि वस्त्रनिर्माण शिल्पोद्योग समस्त देश में फैला हुआ था तथापि कतिपय केन्द्रों के वस्त्र सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध थे। *अर्थशास्त्र* के अनुसार मदुरा, अपरांत, कलिंग, वत्स तथा महिष में उत्तम सूती वस्त्र बनते थे, जिनको 'कार्पासिक' कहा गया है। इसी सन्दर्भ में कौटिल्य⁵ ने तीन प्रकार के दुकूलों (श्वेत तथा महीन चिकना वस्त्र) का उल्लेख किया है जो बनने के स्थानों और रंगों से पहचाने जाते थे। वे बंग (पूर्व बंगाल), पुंड्र (उत्तर बंगाल) तथा सुवर्णकुण्ड्य (कामरूप) में बनते थे।

इसके अतिरिक्त क्षौम (स्थूल रेशमी वस्त्र), क्रिमितान, कंकट (सूती) आदि विभिन्न प्रकार के वस्त्रों का उल्लेख है।⁶ वस्त्र-निर्माण में रत शिल्पी को 'तन्तुवाय' कहा गया है। वस्त्र-निर्माण विभाग सूत्राध्यक्ष के अधीन होता था। वह कैदियों, विधवाओं, निर्धन कुमारी कन्याओं,

* पुत्री श्री जगन्नाथलाल श्रीवास्तव, रुद्रपुर रोड, वार्ड नं० 8, गौरी बाज़ार, देवरिया-274202 (उत्तरप्रदेश)

प्रव्रजिताओं एवं विकलांगों के अतिरिक्त वैतनिक बुनकरों से ऊन, कपास, तसर, सन, रेशम, छाल, नागवृक्ष, बकुल एवं लिकुच के रेशों से सूत कतवाता था।¹⁰ मोटे, महीन तथा बीच की मोटाईवाले सूत की गुणवत्ता तथा सूत कातने में लगे श्रम के अनुरूप पारिश्रमिक दिया जाता था।¹¹ कपड़े बुनने के लिए सूत कारखानों में भेजा जाता था।¹² कुप्याध्यक्ष के कार्यों में रेशे देनेवाले पेड़-पौधे तथा ऐसे पौधे, जिनसे रंग प्राप्त किये जाते थे, का संग्रह शामिल था। कौटिल्य ने मगध, पुंड्र (उत्तरी बंगाल) एवं सुवर्णकुड्य (आसाम) का, पत्रोर्ण के निर्माण के प्रसिद्ध केन्द्रों के रूप में उल्लेख किया है।¹³

मौर्यकाल में जो प्रभूत औद्योगिक उन्नति हुई वह कृषि और खनिज-संसाधनों की सम्पन्नता से ही सम्भव हुई। खनिज-विद्या को वस्तुतः मौर्यकाल में पहली बार वैज्ञानिक आधार पर विकसित किया गया। कौटिल्य¹⁴ ने अनेक प्रकार की कच्ची धातुओं, जैसे— सोना, चाँदी, ताँबा, सीसा, टिन, लोहा के विशेष गुणों का वर्णन किया है। यही नहीं, उन्होंने कच्ची धातु और धातु की शिराओं, धातुओं को गलाकर शुद्ध करने आदि के तकनीकी विज्ञानों का भी उल्लेख किया है।¹⁵ इसी प्रसंग में ताँबा, सीसा, टिन, कांसा, पीतल, लोहे तथा अन्य धातुओं से बने बर्तनों एवं अन्य सामानों का निर्देश भी है। *अर्थशास्त्र*¹⁶ में अनेक किस्म के सोने, चाँदी के विशिष्ट गुणों और उनके शुद्धिकरण, परीक्षण, उससे अनेक प्रकार की वस्तुओं के निर्माण की विशेष विधियों का विवरण प्राप्त होता है।

खानों का विभाग अकाराध्यक्ष के अधीन था।¹⁷ खन्वाध्यक्ष, लोहाध्यक्ष, सुवर्णाध्यक्ष, लक्षणाध्यक्ष उसी के अधीन कार्य करते थे। अकाराध्यक्ष धातुविद्या के विषय में सभी प्रकार की जानकारी और रसपाक का ज्ञाता होता था।¹⁸ साथ ही हीरे, रत्न, मणि आदि को भी पहचानने की योग्यता रखता था।¹⁹ वह विभिन्न धातुओं एवं खनिजों की जानकारी रखनेवाले लोगों को अपनी सहायता के लिए नियुक्त करता था। नयी खानों की खोज करने के लिए भी प्रयास किये जाते थे। कच्ची धातु को कार्यशाला (कर्मान्त) में शुद्ध धातु में परिवर्तित करने की प्रक्रिया का भी विवरण *अर्थशास्त्र* से प्राप्त होता है।²⁰ लोहाध्यक्ष लोहे के अतिरिक्त ताँबा, सीसा, टीन, पीतल (आरकूट) एवं कांसा आदि धातुओं के कारखानों का संचालन करता था।²¹ सुवर्णाध्यक्ष सुवर्ण एवं रजत का शोधन कराकर उनसे विभिन्न आभूषणों के निर्माण एवं विक्रय की व्यवस्था करता था।²² *अर्थशास्त्र* से हमें ज्ञात होता है कि सौवर्णिक²³ संज्ञक अधिकारी कार्यशालाओं में वैतनिक स्वर्णकारों से नगर एवं जनपदवासियों के लिए सोने-चाँदी के आभूषण बनवाता था। उसके लिए सोने-चाँदी के जड़ाऊ आभूषणों में लगनेवाले हीरे, मणि, मूंगा आदि जातियों के गुण-दोषों तथा स्वर्णकारों द्वारा की जानेवाली हेराफेरी के विषय में जानकारी आवश्यक थी।²⁴ सुवर्णकारों के

कारखाने के लिए 'अक्षशाला' (शिल्पीशाला) नाम का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है जिसके सम्बन्ध में सुवर्णाध्यक्ष को निर्देश था कि वह सोने-चाँदी के अलंकार बनाने के कारखाने के लिए ऐसी अक्षशाला बनवाए जिसमें अलग-अलग कक्षोंवाले चार मंज़िले भवन बने हों। सुवर्णकार को यह सलाह दी गयी थी कि वह विशिखा (सुवर्णादि के व्यापार के लिए निर्धारित कक्ष) में कार्य करने के निमित्त क्षेपणादि शिल्प-कार्यों में कुशल, कुलीन और विश्वासी सराफों को नियुक्त करें।²⁵

काष्ठशिल्प भारत का अत्यन्त प्राचीन शिल्प है। ऋग्वेद (9. 112.1) से ही बढ़ई (तक्षन् या त्वष्ट्र) एवं उसके औजारों का उल्लेख मिलने लगता है। मौर्यकाल में यह शिल्प कौशल की पूर्णता की सीमा तक पहुँच चुका था। इसका प्रमाण पटना के पास खुदाई में मिले रहस्यपूर्ण लकड़ी के मंचों के रूप में प्राप्त हुआ है।²⁶ कौटिल्य ने पाँच प्रकार की सुगन्धित लकड़ियों का उल्लेख किया है— चन्दन, अगरु, तैलपर्णिक, भद्रश्री तथा कालेयक।²⁷ काष्ठ-शिल्पी जहाजों और नौकाओं का निर्माण तो करते ही थे, साथ-ही-साथ लकड़ी के घरेलू सामानों का निर्माण भी करते थे। वन-सम्पदा पर भी सरकार का प्रभावी नियन्त्रण था। वनों की सुरक्षा और संवर्धन के लिए 'कुप्याध्यक्ष' संज्ञक एक पृथक् अधिकारी नियुक्त किया गया था। उसके अधीन 'द्रव्यपाल' तथा 'वनपाल' संज्ञक अधिकारी थे।²⁸ कुप्यापदार्थों में कौटिल्य ने सागौन, खदिर, अर्जुन, सोमवल्क, साल एवं मधूक के पेड़, इन पेड़ों की ठोस लकड़ी तथा फल-फूल, ओषधि, सरकंडे एवं ईंधन आदि को रखा है।²⁹ कुप्याध्यक्ष उपर्युक्त पेड़ों की लकड़ियों आदि को वनों से मंगवाकर विभिन्न वस्तुएँ बनाने के लिए कारखानों में भेजता था।³⁰ पाटलिपुत्र का काष्ठ-निर्मित भव्य मौर्यप्रासाद काष्ठशिल्प एवं स्थापत्य की पर्याप्त विकसित स्थिति का प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करता है।

चर्म और उसकी अनेक कृतियों का वर्णन *अर्थशास्त्र* में मिलता है। कौटिल्य ने विभिन्न प्रकार के तथा विभिन्न रंगों के चर्मों एवं लोमों का उनकी माप सहित विवरण दिया है।³¹ चर्म का वर्णन फल्गु (अल्प मूल्यवाली वस्तु) पदार्थों में किया गया है। चर्मशिल्प में गुण की दृष्टि से चमड़ा 15 प्रकार का माना गया है। गाय, भैंस, बैल, भेंड, बकरी आदि के चर्म से जूते एवं अन्य वस्तुएँ बनायी जाती थीं।

अर्थशास्त्र में चमड़े के 15 भेद बताए गए हैं³² — 1. विसी, 2. महाबिसी, 3. श्यामिका, 4. कालिका, 5. कदली, 6. चन्द्रोत्तरा, 7. शाकुला, 8. सामूर, 9. चीनसी, 10. सामूली, 11. सातिना, 12. नलतूला, 13. वृत्तपुच्छा, 14. आद्रा और दो भेद, 15. कान्तनावक, प्रेयस। इन उद्धरणों से प्रतीत होता है कि चर्मशिल्प भी उन्नति पर था।

कौटिल्य ने *अर्थशास्त्र* में 'वास्तु' शब्द का प्रयोग अत्यन्त विस्तृत अर्थ में किया है। उनके मतानुसार गृह, क्षेत्र, वाटिका, बन्ध,

सेतु, प्रत्येक प्रकार की इमारत, तड़ाग तथा पुष्करिणी आदि सभी वास्तु हैं।³³ कौटिल्य³⁴ ने नगर-सन्निवेश के सन्दर्भ में परिखा (खाई), वप्र (रैम्पर्ट), प्राकार (परकोटा), अट्टालक (बुर्ज) एवं गोपुर (पुरद्वार) आदि का स्पष्ट उल्लेख किया है। नगर-निर्माण के सन्दर्भ में आचार्य कौटिल्य ने अपना मत इस प्रकार व्यक्त किया है³⁵ 'वास्तुकला के जानकार जिन स्थानों को अच्छा बताएँ और नदी के संगम पर बड़े-बड़े जलाशयों के किनारे व नगर स्थान के अनुकूल गोल, आकार में लम्बे, चौकोर ढंग पर बसाना चाहिए। उन नगरों के चारों ओर पानी की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रय का प्रबन्ध एवं जल, स्थल-मार्गों की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। नगर या दुर्ग के भीतर महत्वपूर्ण स्थान राजप्रासाद का होता था जिसका स्थान नगर के केन्द्रीय भाग में था जो सम्पूर्ण भूमिखण्ड का नवांश होना चाहिए।'³⁶

मेगस्थनीज के विवरण से भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है³⁷ — 'पाटलिपुत्र नगर डेढ़ मील चौड़ा था और छह मील फैला हुआ था। उसकी परिखा या खाई 600 फुट चौड़ी और 45 फुट गहरी थी। उसके परकोटे में 64 द्वार और 570 अट्टालक थे। नगर के मध्य में राजप्रासाद था।'

इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि *अर्थशास्त्र* में वर्णित दुर्ग-विधान के अनुरूप ही पाटलिपुत्र का नगर-विन्यास हुआ था।

भारतीय वास्तुविद्या के आरम्भिक युग में राजप्रासाद और राजसभा का अधिकांश निर्माण लकड़ी के लट्ठों से ही किया जाता था। लेकिन कौटिल्य प्रासाद एवं गृह-निर्माण में लकड़ी के प्रयोग के विरुद्ध थे, क्योंकि इसमें शीघ्र आग लग जाती थी।³⁸

मौर्य-युग में शिल्पियों ने काष्ठशिल्प के साथ संगतराशी में अपूर्व विशिष्टता प्राप्त की थी जिसका उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण अशोक के शासनकाल के आश्चर्यजनक स्तम्भों में मिलता है। पत्थर को सुन्दर, सुघड़ और तीक्ष्ण रूप में काटकर भवन, प्रासाद, स्तूप, विहार और स्तम्भ आदि बनाए जाते थे। अशोककालीन स्तूप, स्तम्भ इसके ज्वलंत प्रमाण हैं जो कालांतर में भी बनते रहे।

इस प्रकार मौर्य-युग में प्रस्तर का उपयोग एवं चट्टानों में की गयी नक्काशी से इस बात का सहजता से अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि सख्त तथा लम्बे आकार के पत्थर तराशने की कला दीर्घ काल से प्रयोग में थी। इस संबंध में नीहार रंजन राय³⁹ का मत है कि 'जीवित चट्टान से निर्मित कलाकृतियों को छोड़कर बाकी सभी स्थानान्तर योग्य कलाकृतियाँ चुनार से निकाले गये ललछौंहे बालुकाश्म पत्थर से बनाई गई हैं। सारे मौर्य-स्तम्भ इसी सामग्री से बने थे तथा ये विशाल स्तम्भ बहुत विस्तृत क्षेत्र में, पश्चिम में दिल्ली, पूर्व में बसाढ़ तथा दक्षिण में साँची के बीच फैले हुए थे। निश्चय ही राज्य द्वारा कलाकारों को प्रचूर संसाधन उपलब्ध कराने से इतने व्यापक और विशाल पैमाने

पर इनकी अवधारणा, योजना और कार्यान्वयन सम्भव हुए होंगे। किन्तु केवल सम्राट की इच्छा तथा राज्य-संसाधन लकड़ी, धूप से पकी ईंट, मिट्टी, हाथीदाँत तथा धातु से पत्थर की ओर या हाथीदाँत तथा धातु की नाजूक कारीगरी और परिष्कार से बड़े आयामों के पत्थर पर मोटे तथा गोलाई के काम की ओर एक बारगी रूपांतरण की व्याख्या नहीं कर सकते। यह कल्पना की जा सकती है कि इस प्रकार का विशाल और बड़े पैमाने का काम मौर्य-काल से पहले लम्बे अरसे से लकड़ी तथा मिट्टी में होता रहा था और मौर्य-सम्राटों ने सिर्फ यह किया कि कलाकारों तथा कला-संघों को पत्थर का इस्तेमाल करने और उनके परम्परागत कौशल को एक नयी सामग्री में ढालने के लिए प्रेरित किया। यह स्पष्टीकरण ज़रूर स्वीकारने योग्य है।'

इस तथ्य की पुष्टि पाटलिपुत्र नगर और राजभवन के वर्णन पढ़ने तथा मौर्य एवं मौर्योत्तर प्रारम्भिक भारतीय स्मारकों, जैसे— स्तम्भों, बाड़ों, दरवाजों, चैत्य मुखों आदि के किसी भी एक शिल्प तत्त्व की योजना और कार्यान्वयन का निरीक्षण करने से आसानी से हो जाती है। इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि भारत में पहले पहल मौर्य-काल में पत्थर की मूर्तिकला का आविर्भाव ही एक सभ्य, परिष्कृत और पूरी तरह विकसित कला की अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में हुआ, जिसके पीछे कलात्मक प्रयास, अनुभव और परम्परा की पीढ़ियाँ थीं।

अर्थशास्त्र में वर्णित शिल्प-शिक्षा :

प्राचीन भारतीय आचार्य कौटिल्य ने प्रशासन की विद्या के साथ अनेक व्यवहारिक विद्याओं का भी उल्लेख किया है। इनमें व्यापारिक तथा औद्योगिक गतिविधियों, विविध कलाओं तथा शिल्पों की शिक्षा भी है। कौटिल्य ने जगत् में जीवित रहने और जगत् का आचार व्यवहार जानने के लिए 'विद्या' को अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण माना है। विद्या के बिना मनुष्य जगत् का व्यवहार कैसे जान सकता है? वस्तुतः मनुष्य के जीवन में विद्या ही अज्ञानता को दूर करती हुई सत्यज्ञानरूपी प्रकाश को देती है। विद्या को प्राप्त कर ही व्यक्ति अपने भले-बुरे को अच्छी प्रकार समझता हुआ जगत् में सुखमय जीवन व्यतीत कर सकता है।⁴⁰ कौटिल्य ने शिक्षा के विषयों को चार भागों में विभाजित किया है— आन्वीक्षिकी, त्रयी, वार्ता और दण्डनीति।⁴¹ शिल्पों की शिक्षा 'वार्ता' के अंतर्गत समाहित थी। वार्ता के अंतर्गत अर्थोपार्जन-संबंधी विद्याओं की गणना की गयी है। ये तीन हैं— कृषि, पशुपालन, वाणिज्य। उद्योगों एवं शिल्पों की शिक्षा का अंतर्भाव वाणिज्य के अंतर्गत था। इस विद्या के द्वारा धान्य, स्वर्ण, पशु, खनिज-पदार्थ, संतान आदि प्राप्त होते हैं। 'वार्ता' द्वारा प्राप्त सामग्री से तथा कोष और दण्ड से राजा अपने पक्ष को तथा शत्रु-पक्ष को अपने वश में कर सकता है।⁴²

'वार्ता' को मूलतः वैश्यों का विषय बताया गया है परन्तु धीरे-धीरे इसकी सीमा का विस्तार होता गया। यद्यपि यह वैश्यों की

विद्या थी, इसलिए वे ही इसके आचार्य थे। दूसरी ओर ब्राह्मणों को विद्याओं का आचार्य माना जाता था। उनका वर्णधर्म था अध्ययन-अध्यापन। अतः वे भी विषय के रूप में इसका अध्ययन करते थे तथ शिष्यों को वार्ता का अध्यापन कराते थे। वे इसके व्यावहारिक प्रयोग में सिद्धहस्त थे। शूद्र भी वार्ता के अध्यापक इस दृष्टि से थे क्योंकि अनेक कलाओं में वे ही निपुण थे (*अर्थशास्त्र*, 1.2)। अतः उनसे विविध कलाओं का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया जाता था। इसी से यह छूट थी कि जो भी व्यक्ति किसी विद्या में निष्णात हो, उससे विद्या सीखनी चाहिए।⁴³ अर्थशास्त्र में कौटिल्य⁴⁴ ने राजकुमारों के लिए वार्ता विद्या सीखने का विधान बनाया है। राजकुमार वार्ता का अध्ययन इन विषयों के अध्यक्षों की अधीनता में करते थे।⁴⁵

कौटिल्य ने विभागों के अध्यक्षों के पद गिनाए हैं। इनका सम्बन्ध विविध कलाओं, उद्योगों और शिल्पों से था, यथा—पौतवाध्यक्ष, सूत्राध्यक्ष, सीताध्यक्ष, गणिकाध्यक्ष, मुद्राध्यक्ष, विवीताध्यक्ष, नवाध्यक्ष, हस्त्याध्यक्ष, कुप्याध्यक्ष, पण्याध्यक्ष, आकराध्यक्ष, सौवर्णिक, दूताध्यक्ष इत्यादि।⁴⁶ *अर्थशास्त्र* में वर्णित इन विविध अध्यक्षों के पदों और कार्यों के वर्णन करने से यहाँ यही अभिप्राय है कि इस समय भारतवर्ष में इस प्रकार उद्योग, शिल्प और व्यवसाय प्रचलित थे और इनकी शिक्षा के लिए इस युग के मनीषियों ने समुचित प्रबन्ध निश्चित रूप से किये थे। इन शिल्पों का अभ्यास उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण समझा जाता था जितना की शस्त्राभ्यास।

उद्योगों, शिल्पों, कलाओं और व्यवसायों की शिक्षा विभिन्न श्रेणी के विशेषज्ञों और शिल्पियों द्वारा दी जाती थी। प्रशिक्षणार्थी को 'अन्तेवासी' कहा जाता था। सामान्यतः वह अपने गुरु के घर पर रहकर इच्छित शिल्प की शिक्षा प्राप्त करता था जहाँ प्रशिक्षु गुरु-पुत्र के समान आदर और स्नेह का पात्र था। प्रशिक्षु के निवास, भोजन और अन्य सुविधाओं का प्रबन्ध शिक्षक के अधीन था।⁴⁷ इससे प्रशिक्षु को अपने शिक्षक की सारी विद्या और कार्यदक्षता प्राप्त होती थी और वह कुशल शिल्पी बनता था।

अर्थशास्त्र के वास्तुविद्या-बोधक सूत्रों से स्पष्ट है कि यह ग्रंथ परम्परागत वास्तुविद्या को सूत्र-रूप में संक्षिप्त करते हुए राजनीति के ग्रंथ में विशयानुषंग से उद्धृतकर इस तथ्य की ओर संकेत करता है कि उस काल में वास्तुविद्या के अनेक मौलिक ग्रंथ थे। *अर्थशास्त्र* में वर्णित आचार्यों की सूची से भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है। कौटिल्य ने अपने से पूर्ववर्ती राजविद्या-संबंधी स्कूलों का वर्णन किया है, यथा—मानवाः, बार्हस्पत्या, औशनसः, पाराशराः और अम्भीयाः। *अर्थशास्त्र* के प्रसंगों में कौटिल्य ने अनेक आचार्यों के मतों का उल्लेख उनके नाम के साथ भी उद्धृत किए हैं—भारद्वाज, विशालाक्ष, पराशर, पिशुन, कौणपदन्त, वातव्याधि, दन्तिपुत्र, कात्यायन, कणिक, दीर्घचारायण,

घोटमुख, किजंकल्क और पिशनपुत्र।⁴⁸

इससे यह निर्विवाद रूप से सिद्ध है कि कौटिल्य के समय इन आचार्यों द्वारा प्रणीत *अर्थशास्त्र* एवं अन्य ग्रन्थ विद्यमान थे। ये आचार्य प्रशासन-विद्या के आचार्यों के साथ-साथ अनेक शिल्पों एवं विद्याओं के आचार्य भी थे। शिल्पशास्त्रीय एवं पौराणिक विवरणों से इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है।

मौर्य-युग में शिल्प-निर्माण एवं शैली की दृष्टि से मुख्यतः दो विधियाँ स्पष्ट होती हैं⁴⁹—प्रथम जो राज्याश्रयी हैं और दूसरी शुद्ध जनपदीय हैं। प्रथम विधा के अंतर्गत चंद्रगुप्त मौर्य का सभाभवन, अशोक के स्तम्भ एवं धौली में निर्मित अर्द्धकाय गज की प्रतिमा उल्लेखनीय हैं तथा दूसरी विधा के अंतर्गत यक्षों की मूर्तियाँ उल्लेखनीय हैं। दोनों परस्पर विरोधी परम्पराएँ नहीं बल्कि पूरक परम्पराएँ थीं। शिल्पियों के दो वर्ग राज्याश्रित एवं लोकाश्रित साहित्य से भी विदित हैं। पाणिनि⁵⁰ की *अष्टाध्यायी* में स्पष्टतः ग्रामशिल्पी एवं राजशिल्पी का उल्लेख है,⁵¹ जिससे स्पष्ट होता है कि यह परम्परा प्राचीन भारत में मौर्य-पूर्व काल से चली आ रही थी। ग्राम-शिल्पियों की भाँति राज शिल्पियों की उस युग में महत्वपूर्ण स्थिति थी। वे राज्य के संरक्षण में सृजनात्मक क्रिया में संलग्न थे।⁵²

मौर्यों ने पहली बार सभी उद्योगों को राज्य के नियन्त्रण एवं प्रबन्ध में ले लिया था। *अर्थशास्त्र* में वर्णित विभिन्न अध्यक्ष नामधारी अधिकारी जो विभिन्न शिल्पों एवं उद्योगों से सम्बन्धित थे इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है। मेगस्थनीज⁵³ के उल्लेखों से भी यह सिद्ध होता है कि राज्य की ओर से अनेक प्रकार के वस्तुओं को बनाने के औद्योगिक केन्द्र भी स्थापित थे। ऐसे राजशिल्पियों को उसने 'चौथी जाति' कहा है। इस वर्ग का उल्लेख करते हुए एरियन⁵⁴ कहता है कि दस्तकार और छोटे-छोटे व्यापारी कर देते थे, किन्तु युद्ध के हथियार बनानेवाले, पोत निर्माता और नाविकों से कर नहीं लिया जाता था, वरन् उनको राज्य से वेतन भी मिलता था। स्पष्ट है कि सरकार ने एक वर्ग में शिल्पकारों को नियुक्त कर रखा था। *अर्थशास्त्र*⁵⁵ से भी पता चलता है कि राज्य धनादि देकर शिल्पियों की सहायता करता था और उनसे कर नहीं लिए जाते थे। शिल्पी के किसी अंग को चोट या क्षति पहुँचानेवाले के लिए अंगच्छेद से लेकर मृत्युदण्ड तक का प्रावधान किया गया था।⁵⁶ शिल्पी-संघों के मुख्य अधिकारी को 88 हजार पण वेतन दिया जाता था⁵⁷ जो समाज में उनकी उच्च स्थिति का द्योतक है।

मौर्ययुगीन प्रस्तर मूर्तियाँ लोक शिल्पकला की रचनाएँ प्रतीत होती हैं जो दरबारी कला के समानान्तर ही प्रचलित थी। भारतीय कला के इतिहास में मौर्य-युग में जब प्रस्तर की मूर्तियों के दर्शन होते हैं तो यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि इस सुसंस्कृत और सुविकसित अभिव्यक्ति के पीछे पीढ़ियों के हस्तकौशल और सुदीर्घ परम्परा थी।⁵⁸

इस सम्बन्ध में डॉ० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल⁵⁹ ने मथुरा ज़िले के परखम ग्राम से प्राप्त मौर्यकालीन मूर्ति के लेख के आधार पर 'कुणिक' नामक आचार्य का उल्लेख किया है जिसके अन्तेवासी (गोमित्र) ने मूर्ति की प्रतिष्ठा की। कुणिक मथुरा के प्रसिद्ध शिल्पी और तक्षणविद्याचार्य जान पड़ते हैं जिसके शिष्य 'गोमित्र' ने शिक्षा पाते हुए यह शिल्पाकृति बनायी थी। उसी कुणिक के दूसरे शिष्य 'नाक' ने इस शैली की विशाल यक्षिणी मूर्ति बनाई थी जो झींग का नागरा से मिली है। ये दोनों कलाकार आचार्य कुणिक के अन्तेवासी थे, अर्थात् किसी दूर स्थान से आकर आचार्य से मूर्तिकला की शिक्षा ग्रहण कर रहे थे। इसी प्रशिक्षण के दौरान उन्होंने इन प्रतिमाओं का निर्माण किया। यह सूचना 'घराना-पद्धति' द्वारा शिल्प-शिक्षा के विकास की पुष्टि करती है। पृथ्वी कुमार अग्रवाल⁶⁰ के अनुसार, 'लगता है कि मिर्जापुर पहाड़ियों की पत्थर की खदानों में स्थानीय रूप से विकसित तत्संबंधी पाषाण तक्षण की परम्परा के कारण वाराणसी के आस-पास चुनार में राजकीय शिल्पशाला केन्द्र स्थापित हुआ। वस्तुतः मौर्य-स्तम्भ शीर्ष, वेदिका और अन्य प्रकार की रचनाएँ चुनार (मिर्जापुर) के बलुए पत्थर की हैं जिन पर प्राप्त चमकदार ओप तथा अभिलेखों से उनका निर्धारण किया गया है... यद्यपि मौर्य-स्तम्भों की प्राप्ति अनेक दूरवर्ती स्थानों से हुई है, तथापि वे यहीं के पास की कर्मशालाओं से निर्मित होकर इन दूरस्थ बौद्ध केन्द्रों में भेजे गए।'।

यद्यपि शिल्पों की शिक्षा व्यक्तिगत रूप से किसी भी शिल्प-प्रशिक्षक द्वारा दी जाती थी, तथापि 'शिल्पी संघों' या श्रेणियों द्वारा विशिष्ट शिल्पों की शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध किया जाता था। कौटिल्य⁶¹ ने शिल्पकारों के समूह को 'श्रेणी' कहा है। श्रेणियों के शासक को 'मुख्य' कहा जाता था। इनमें एक वर्ग ऐसा भी था जिसे उसने 'वार्ताशास्त्रोपजीवी' कहा है।⁶² शिल्पों की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में प्रत्येक श्रेणी अपने विशिष्ट नियमों का निर्धारण करती थी। श्रेणी-संगठनों के कार्यों, परम्पराओं, कानूनों आदि को लेखबद्ध करना 'अक्षपटलाध्यक्ष' के दायित्वों में सम्मिलित किया गया था।⁶³ शिल्पोद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन देना राजा का प्रमुख धर्म था। इन संगठनों के नियमों तथा रीति-रिवाजों को न केवल राज्य ने मान्यता दी थी, अपितु उनकी अवहेलना करनेवाले सदस्यों के लिए दण्ड भी निर्धारित किये गये थे।⁶⁴ नगर-योजना में श्रेणियों के आवास के लिए एक पृथक् प्रावधान⁶⁵ करने के साथ-साथ बाहरी श्रेणियों का ग्राम (नगर) में प्रवेश निषिद्ध कर दिया गया था।⁶⁶ कौटिल्य ने *अर्थशास्त्र* में व्यावसायिक संगठन के लिए 'संभूयसमुत्थान'⁶⁷ शब्द का प्रयोग किया है जिससे प्रकट होता है कि इन संगठनों के सदस्य सहकारिता एवं साझेदारी के आधार पर कार्य करते थे। साथ ही इन संगठनों को राज्य की ओर से सुरक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि *अर्थशास्त्र* में शिल्प-शिक्षा के प्रत्यक्ष विवरण यद्यपि प्राप्त नहीं होते, तथापि परोक्ष रूप से तत्कालीन युग में प्रचलित शिल्प-शिक्षा के विवरणों पर समुचित ढंग से प्रकाश पड़ता है। आचार्य कौटिल्य ने व्यक्ति की नहीं अपितु गुणों की पूजा पर बल देते हुए गुणी शिल्पियों को सम्मानित स्थान दिया है। समाज में शिल्प एवं व्यवसायों की दशा उन्नत थी। राजकीय संरक्षण भी शिल्पों को प्राप्त था।

अर्थशास्त्र से वास्तु-पुरुष-विकल्पन, भूमि चयन एवं भूपरिक्षण, दारु-आरोहण, वास्तुविद्या तथा ज्योतिष, शाला भवन, स्थपति, पाषाणकला तथा मूर्ति-निर्माण कला आदि के विषय में वैज्ञानिक विवरण एवं अनेक आचार्यों की सूची से स्पष्ट है कि आचार्यों ने इन वास्तुकला-विषयक अपने मंतव्यों को निश्चित ही लिपिबद्ध किया था। पाटलिपुत्र के ध्वंसावशेषों एवं *अर्थशास्त्र* के काष्ठमय प्रासाद विवरण में जो समानता है, उससे स्पष्ट है कि यह प्राचीन भारत में चार प्रमुख स्थपति वर्गों में काष्ठकोविद वर्धक के कौशल का प्रशस्त निदर्शन है।

अर्थशास्त्र के विवरणों से स्पष्ट है कि तत्कालीन युग में शिल्पों की शिक्षा शिक्षण एवं प्रशिक्षण की कला पर आधृत थी। *अर्थशास्त्र* में उल्लिखित शिल्पीशालाओं से इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है। शिल्पों की शिक्षा में स्वाभाविक रूप से वंशानुगत संस्कारों एवं उपयोगी कौशलों को सीखने की जिज्ञासा का अत्यन्त ही महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। यद्यपि विभिन्न शिल्पों की शिक्षा उत्तराधिकार के आधार पर परिवार में मिलती रही, तथापि प्रत्येक श्रेणी-संघ द्वारा संचालित शिक्षण-संस्थाओं से न केवल विशेषज्ञता को प्रोत्साहन मिला, अपितु संबंधित व्यवसाय कालांतर में उच्च-शिक्षा के पाठ्यक्रम में सम्मिलित हुए। कुशल शिल्पियों की पुष्ट परम्परा पोषित इन श्रेणियों ने शिल्पियों को औपचारिक प्रशिक्षण देने का काम प्रारम्भ किया। इस पद्धति से विविध शिल्पों में परिष्कार आया तथा कलाकृतियाँ पारम्परिक होती हुई अधिकाधिक सुघड़ रूप धारण करने लगीं।

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53. नीलकण्ठ शास्त्री, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० 316.
54. तत्रैव
55. अर्थशास्त्र, 2.8
56. तत्रैव
57. दीपंकर, कौटिल्यकालीन भारत (हिंदी समिति, सूचना विभाग, लखनऊ, 1968), पृ० 138.
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'जातकों में भवन-निर्माण कार्य में वास्तुविद्याचार्य के साथ अन्य शिल्पियों के जुड़े होने के साक्ष्य प्राप्त होते हैं। भवन-निर्माण से ही सम्बन्धित पत्थर को काटकर काम करनेवाले 'पाषाणकोत्तक' और ईंटों का काम करनेवाले 'ईटवड्ढकी' तथा बड़े निर्माण-कार्य करनेवाले शिल्पियों को 'महावड्ढकी' कहा जाता था। पाषाण कोत्तक कहीं ध्वस्त ग्रामों के उपादानों से भवन-निर्माण में लगे मिलते हैं, कहीं वे निर्मल स्फटिक शिलाखण्ड को भीतर से काटकर पोला कर रहे हैं, इत्यादि (जातक, 1.470)।'
59. वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० 126.
60. पृथ्वी कुमार अग्रवाल, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० 130.
61. अर्थशास्त्र, 5.2, 'एकेन शिल्पेन पण्येन वा ये जीवन्ति तेषां समूह, श्रेणी ।'
62. नीलकण्ठ शास्त्री, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० 312.
63. अर्थशास्त्र, 3.7
64. तत्रैव, 2.1, 2.4, 3.10, 3.14.
65. तत्रैव, 2.4
66. तत्रैव, 2.1
67. श्याम मनोहर मिश्र, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० 226.



Iconographical study of the Brāhmanical deities in the Vajrayāna pantheon of Buddhism

Dr. G.K. Lama *



Iconography is an interesting and at the same times a difficult subject. It requires not only knowledge of art, but of widely dispersed literatures both secular and religious. Images are mute spectators of the past ages. Their fine craftsmanship, beauty and

polish convey much more than their values.

Dharmacakrapravartan

According to legends Buddha set forth Three Wheels of Law to suit varying degrees of intelligence and receptivity:

- At *Rṣipatana Mrgadāva* (Saranatha), Buddha turned the First Wheel of Law which constituted the doctrines of the Four Noble Truths and Eight-fold Path and it is designated as *Srāvakayāna*.
- At *Griddhakūṭa* hill (Vulture Peak), Rajgir (Dist. Nalanda, Bihar), the Buddha turned the Second Wheel of Law which constituted the doctrines of Emptiness and Selflessness of the person and phenomena. These doctrines are vividly preserved in *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Vaipulyasūtras*. This approach was later known as Mahāyāna or Path of the Bodhisattva.
- At Vaishali, on the other hand, the Buddha

turned the Third Wheel of Law which constituted the doctrines of Buddha-nature as described in *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and *Dhāraṇīśvarāsūtra*. At various places such as *Dhānyakataka*, *Śrīparvata*, *Kāmakhyā*, *Sirihaṭṭa*, *Pūrṇagiri*, *Odiyāna* etc. the Buddha revealed the path of *Mantra* to his highly gifted disciples as a shorter path to attain enlightenment. This approach was termed as Vajrayāna, which integrates all three vehicles.

Essence of Vajrayāna Tradition

The word 'Vajrayāna' means the vehicle of obtaining *Nirvāṇa* through the medium of Vajra, another name for *Śūnya*, so called because it is a thing which cannot be destroyed, cannot be cut, cannot be burnt. The mass could not master the sacred writings and even could not recite them, so the Vajrācāryas invented other methods for the mass to attain an easy salvation (Bhattacharyya. 1932:53). The Dhāraṇīs, which were mostly meaningless strings of words, were composed for them, and the recitation of these Dhāraṇīs promised them great merit. These Dhāraṇīs were later on, shortened into equally unintelligible Mantras and mystic syllables. Individual Mantras were assigned to individual deities, who were held to take their origin from the mystic syllables. Those votaries who could not worship their deities in accordance with the prescribed procedure were promised by the Vajrācāryas perfection only through the muttering of the Mantras (*Khede sati Mantramjapet*). Thus the

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position of the Vajrācāryas became paramount because they showed the adamant path for *Nirvāṇa*.

The mentality of the mass and the mentality of the Vajrācāryas was in such a state that it readily grasped and assimilated the doctrines of Tantra and developed a form of religion. Yet nevertheless, the feminine element in the doctrine attracted a large number of followers and made it extremely popular and the most exquisite art, which this school developed, made it doubly attractive. The credit goes to Vajrācāryas that we owe the legacy of a rich, varied and extensive Pantheon. The purely tāntric gods were invariably accompanied with their consorts, who were sometimes given a separate seat in sculptures, sometimes the same seat, sometimes a seat on the lap of the gods, and sometimes they were represented in the actual embrace of the gods. The sober form of Tantra generally adopted the first three courses, but the most thorough-going form worshipped the gods in the embrace, in union with their consorts, or as the Tibetans describes it –in *Yab-yum* (Bhattacharyya. 1973:33).

The secret Mantrayāna is hidden (Skt. *Guhya*) because it is not appropriate for the common people. It is however, fit for the advanced practitioner well versed in Emptiness, *Bodhicitta* and Renunciation (Bhattacharyya. 1931:28). Various scholars have explained the word 'Tantra' in various ways. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri says: *The word Tantra is very loosely used. Ordinary people understand by it any system other than the Vedas. But it really means the worship of Śakti or female energy. The female energy is worshipped in conjunction with male energy. The union of male and female energy is the essence of Tantra.*

It is said in *Kāśikā*: *Tanyanevistāryatejñānāmanetantram*, that means by which wisdom is expanded is known as Tantra. Due to lack of knowledge or confusion people hate the *tantra*. See the words of *Merutantra*: *Paradravyeṣu Yo Andhaśca, Parastrīṣu Napunsakaḥ/Parāpavade Yo Mukhaḥ, Sarvadā Vijitendriyaḥ// Tasyaiva Brāhmaṇasyātra, Vame Syat Adhikāritā//* It means the Brāhmaṇa who is blind-like to see others wealth, who is impotent-like in the matter of others wife, who is dumb-like while criticizing someone and who has full control on his body-organs, only he has the authority to follow this path.

The monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramshila and Odantapuri have developed the latest form of Vajrayāna before Buddhism was finally wiped out at the advent of Bukhtiyar Khilji. In the later phase of Vajrayāna, after its destruction in India, the priests of the celebrated monasteries took refuge in Nepal, and thus kept the torch of Buddhism still burning. Nalanda and Vikramshila were excavated and a large number of Tāntric images have been unearthed, but the Odantapuri monastery has not been identified yet. If the site be also identified and excavated, it will most assuredly, yield innumerable images of Vajrayāna deities. This year Patna Circle Branch of Archaeological Survey of India has discovered *Tilādhak* monastery at Telhara located on Bihar Sharif-Ekangar Sarai Road in district-Nalanda which was a great tāntric seat as mentioned by Hiuen-tsang

Frequent interchanges of deities took place among Brāhmaṇic, Jain and Buddhist traditions. Brāhmaṇic deities like Indra and Pārvatī are found in the Jain pantheon; as well as Indra, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Mahākālā, Bhairava etc. are famous in Buddhist pantheon. In the Brāhmaṇic tradition deities like Tārā, Manasā and Chhinnamastā were borrowed from the deities of Buddhist tradition like Mahacintārā, Jānguli and Vajrayoginī respectively. The Jains and the Buddhists alike borrowed Brāhmaṇic deities in their earlier stages, but in the Tāntric age, the Buddhist gods were commonly exploited. Therefore, the correct identification of images is very problematic. Scholars like Waddel, Grunwedel, Foucher, Burgess, Getty, and many others have attempted well to present a solution and gathered a considerable amount of information on Buddhist iconography. A deep study of following texts is essential for the iconographical study of the deities of Vajrayāna Pantheon: *Sādhanamālā* (Earliest manuscript belongs to 1167 CE), *Sādhanasamuchaya*, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, *Dharmakośasaṅgraha* (Pandit Amritananda preserved in the Darbar Library, Nepal and Asiatic Society of Bengal), *Niṣpannayogāmbarantra* (Pandit Abhayakara Gupta-12th century CE), *Herukatantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Candamahārośanatantra*, *Vajravārāhatantra*, *Kariyāsamuchaya*, *Vajrāvalitantra*, *Yoginījālatantra* etc. The manuscripts of these Tāntric texts are to be found either in the Darbar Library, Nepal or in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal or in the University Library of Cambridge.

Interchanges of deities

A number of deities belonging to the regular Brāhmaṇical pantheon was assimilated into Vajrayānic worship viz. Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa and the Saptamātrkāś. Brāhmaṇic deities like Uśā, Viṣṇu, Kubera etc., came to be incorporated into Buddhism as Mārīci, Lokeśvara, Jambhala etc. Heruka, Siṃhnāda, Nilakanṭha and Vajrahūṅkāra are but adaptations of the benign and the malignant aspect of Bhairava and Śiva. A comprehensive study of many of the Brāhmaṇical icons and the corresponding group of Vajrayāna Buddhist images will enable us to see the transference of the attributes of Indra to Vajrapāṇi, of Brahmā to Mañjuśrī and of Viṣṇu to Avalokiteśvara etc. (Bhattacharya. 2008:141). A brief description of these deities is given below:

Major Gods

Viṣṇu transformed as Avalokiteśvara (Tibetan-Chenrensi)

Avalokiteśvara is the most popular and is worshipped as Patron deity of Tibet. He is spiritual son of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha and his consort Pāṇḍarā. He has two to one thousand hands. Of the principal hands, left hand holds a lotus and right hand is in protection pose. It is believed that all Dalai Lamas are incarnations of this deity. He is represented both in sculpture and painting and is depicted in various monasteries of Tibet. At Macchandar Vahal, Kathmandu, Nepal appears 108 forms of this deity; out of them following forms are more popular:

1. Padmapāṇi (Fig. 1)
2. Siṃhanāda (Fig. 2)
3. Śadākṣari (Fig. 3)
4. Hari-Hari Vāhana (Fig. 4)
5. Sahsrabhuji (Fig. 5)
6. Rakta Ārya or Bungadeo (Matsyendranāth) (Fig. 6-7)
7. Halāhala (Fig. 8) and

Nilakanṭha (Śiva) (Fig. 9)

According to *Sādhnamālā* this is a form of Lokeśvara, whose complexion is yellow and who wears the crown of chignon decorated with the crescent. An effigy of Amitābha is noticed on his head. He sits in the *Vajraparyāṅka* attitude on a red lotus, on which is spread the skin of a black deer. He exhibits the Samādhi mudrā with his two hands

carrying the *Kapāla* filled with a variety of gems. The god wears the tiger-skin, and bears no ornaments. His throat shows the blue pill and looking towards him are to be seen two cobras with jewels on their hoods.

The model of this deity has been taken from the Brāhmaṇic god Śiva. It is said that he has saved the world from destruction by swallowing the poison that came out from the mouth of Vāsukī, the lord of serpents, while the gods and demons were churning the ocean together. The poison, if it could enter Śiva's stomach, would surely have destroyed him but it remained in his throat, and as the colour of the poison is said to be blue, there is a blue spot in the white throat of the deity. That is the reason why the name Nilakanṭha has been attributed to Śiva. As this particular form of Lokeśvara has also the same name, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the model for this variety has been taken from the Brāhmaṇic god Śiva.

One image of this god has been discovered in the temple of Bauddhanātha in Nepal, but here the deity appears alone without the serpents. Other image was yielded from Sarnath (Fig. 10) identified by Bhattacharyya.

Buddhist Newars residing in Nepal and also in Indian Territory worship Śiva in his manifestations as Lukma Deo. It is said that Lukma Deo originated when Mahādeva gave Bhasmāsura, one of his devotees, a boon which enabled him to destroy anybody by touching him. However, the receiver of the boon tried to test his power on the giver himself. Therefore, Shiva had to run away for survival and hide himself under the ground and in that form he is called Lukma Deo (god in hiding).

Bhairava transformed as Heruka (Fig. 11)

He is one of the most prominent *Yidams* (Protective Deities) of the Buddhist pantheon. He is tutelary or personal protective deity. His function is for specific purpose often as guardian of any sect and as the presiding deity of a Tāntric system. He is also represented with his *Prajñā* (consort) and is also efficacious if worshipped along with his consort. He is popular in Tibet in *yab-yum* form. He stands on a corpse in *Ardharyāṅkāśana*. He is clad in human skin and his body is smeared with ashes. He bears *vajra* in the right hand and a *kapāla* (skull cup) full of blood in the left hand. From his left shoulder hangs the *khatvāṅga* (knife). He has a garland of 50 human heads; face is slightly distorted with bare fangs and

blood-short eyes. His hair is raised upwards and bears an effigy of Akṣobhya. He wears a *kuṇḍala* (ear ring) and is bedecked with ornaments. His several forms in various attitudes are described in the *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Bhattacharyya. 1925:41).

Heruka with Prajñā is called Hevajra (Tibetan-Key Dorje). There is very little difference between Heruka and Hevajra. In Tibet *Chemchok Heruka* (Supreme Heruka) is one of the deity with three faces and six arms. He represents union of wisdom and compassion. He stands on prostate figures of a male and a female. This form of Heruka has flayed skin of an elephant and man. He wears a garland of 50 severed heads. Over each face he has a crown. His consort is one-faced and two armed and possesses a *vajra*, chopper and skull bowl. He is clad in skin of leopard and wears 5 skull crowns and has a flower on the back of her hair. The Heruka Tantra is devoted to worship the deity (Rhie and Robert. 1991:79).

Brahmā transformed as Manjuśrī (Tibetan-Jambelyang) (Fig. 12)

There are various forms of Manjuśrī. A brief description is given below.

Arapacana Manjuśrī (Fig. 13)

Manjuśrī embodies wisdom aspect of an enlightened mind. This is the ability to see into the true nature of reality of the persons and the phenomena. Manjuśrī has the ability to discriminate correct views of reality as it is. In order to benefit the sentient beings he too, manifests in different forms. In this form of Manjuśrī, he is single faced symbolize cutting off the root of the delusion, which is the cause of suffering, ignorance, and of wisdom', which cuts off all delusions. He sits in the *Vajraparyāṅka* attitude. Four companions with few exceptions always accompany him. He is invoked especially for increasing intelligence by reciting his mantra viz.: *Om A Ra Pa Ca Na Dhih* many times.

This form of Manjuśrī has a special relationship with Kathmandu valley because it was he who drained the water of Kathmandu valley to make it habitable land. According to Swayambhu legend it is said that he came to Kathmandu valley with his consorts *Kesini* and *Upakesini*. His two companions are said to be Jālīnī Kumar and Candraprabha Kumar who were bodhisattvas. As the water receded, the sacred hill of Swayambhu Stūpa appeared. This was the contribution of great

bodhisattva Manjuśrī Arapacana (Majupuria & Indra. 1993:87).

Manjughoṣa

This form of Manjuśrī as described in *Sādhanamālā*, is golden yellow in color and rides on a lion. He is decked in all sorts of bodhisattva ornaments and his hands exhibit *Dharmacakra* mudrā. He displays an *utpala* flower in his left hand and bears an image of Akṣobhya on his crown. He is invoked by his popular mantra *Om vāgiśvara Muḥ* (Getty. 1978:46).

Concerning his activities in Nepal a legend is befitting to cite here. There was an Upāsaka called Buddhapāla in the city of Pāñcāla. He was very learned and had many disciples who learnt much orthodox science under him. Unfortunately his only son called Manjugarta had not been educated. He was too dull to learn most of the sciences Buddhapāla taught to his disciples. So he decided to send his son to Manjuśrī. So he sent his son there along with some of his disciples with the necessary instructions. On his way to Manjuśrī Caitya he came to a farm where sugar cane was cultivated. Young Manjugarta was enchanted with the place. He wanted to stay there forever.

Instead of reciting *Om Namo Vāgiśvarāya* at the site of Manjuśrī Caitya he was busy testing and chewing succulent sugarcane. His friends suggested him if he was not interested to visit Manjuśrī he could recite his mantra from the same place where he was enjoying sugarcane. Accepting their proposal Manjugarta and his friends started reciting *Om Namo Vāgiśvarāya* with devotion.

Manjughosa instantly appeared in the sugarcane field with his divine form as we have described above. Even when Manjughoṣa appeared there this young Manjugarta was not interested to pay homage to him but through his friends suggestion he paid homage to Manjughoṣa. Later, Manjughoṣa blessed Manjugarta and predicted that he would be a master of all orthodox sciences. His ignorance was eliminated instantaneously with mere touch. Young Manjugarta later composed a hymn of praise to Manjughoṣa entitled *Manjuvajrastotram* which is still sung by the Nepalese devotees till today (Mitra. 1970:93).

Vāgiśvara Manjuśrī (Fig. 14)

Dharmadhātu Vāgiśvara when depicted in sculptures is eight armed, four faced, and reddish-white in color. His right face is red, left face is yellowish-red and back face is lotus red in color. He

holds the bow and the arrow, the noose and goad, scripture and *Khadga* and bell and the vajra in the respective pair of hands. He sits on moon disc on a double lotus in *lalita* attitude. He wears all the bodhisattva ornaments and garments and bears on his crown an image of Amitābha. Another form of Vāgīśvara Manjuśrī is single faced. He holds sword with his right hand and jewel in his left hand. He resides in heart of Buddha Ratnasambhava. Different forms of Manjuśrī images in stone and bronze are scattered in various places. More than six-dozen images in stone are found in Patan city alone thus deserving the name Manjupattan (Gupte. 1972:27).

Manjuvara (Fig. 15)

Manjuśrī manifested in many different forms and names in order to deliver sentient beings from their ignorance. According to *Svayambhu Purāṇa* he manifested himself in a human being as Manjuvajra Ācārya and performed his bodhisattva deeds in the land of Svayambhu, self-born i.e. the primordial Buddha.

Human manifestation of Manjuśrī is deified in tāntric lore as seated on the back of a lion. He is of beautiful golden color resembling Buddha Vairocana. His three faces have yellow, blue and white color. He is six armed. In his right hands he is holding the sword, *varaḍa* and the arrow and his left hands are holding scripture, blue lotus i.e. *Utpala* flower and the bow (Pal. 1975:57).

Manjuśrī Nāmasangīti (Fig. 16)

Manjuśrī Nāmasangīti is one of the important manifestations of Manjuśrī, the embodiment of wisdom of all the Buddhas. It is said that he was already enlightened countless eons ago. During Śākyamuni's time he appeared himself as one of his eight chief bodhisattva disciples. Countless Buddhas of ten directions have been his disciples. Therefore he was called Ādi-Buddha Manjuśrī. Nāmasangīti text has more than eight hundred words of deep spiritual significance describing this deity.

In the usual form, Nāmasangīti had one head and twelve arms. He is seated with *Dhyānamudrā*. He wears all the bodhisattva ornaments typical of *Sambhogakāya* aspects. He has *Uśnīśa* in his head and wears a crown. His uppermost arms above his head are in the *uttarabodhi* mudrā i.e. two hands folded to form a prostration attitude. His other two hands at the

breast level are in *Dharmacakra* or (*Abhaya mudrā*?). Two hands hold an alms bowl kept in the lap. Two hands at the shoulder level hold sword and scripture on a lotus and the other two hands hold bow and arrow. This form of Nāmasangīti is very popular in Kathmandu valley.

Minor Gods

These include Lokapāla or Guardians of Four cardinal points and Aṣṭadīkṣpālas who are protectors of monasteries and oracles.

Lokapāla (Guardians of four cardinal points)

Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Tibetan-YulKhorsung)

He is one of the four great kings in the first heaven of this desire realm. He serves as the guardian in the East. He protects the land and living beings, so he is called Heavenly Lord of maintaining the country. He is also known as the lord of Gandharvas. He has 91 sons ready to protect the disciples of Buddha. According to the Mahāsaṅghātasūtra, Buddha told Dhṛtarāṣṭra to protect the dharma in the four continents of Jambudvīpa with utmost care. Following his instruction Dhṛtarāṣṭra promised to lead all retinues of Buddhist disciples to the east of Jambudvīpa so that the true dharma might be diffused in the world forever. He lives in the city of Superior sage, magnificent and situated in the east of Sumeru Mountain. According to the Dhāraṇīsūtra, this king wears various kinds of celestial robes. He holds a *Viṇā* with his both hands. Nepalese Buddhists generally know him by the name of Viṇārāja and his image is seen in the east corner of the roof. He is depicted as white.

Virudhak (Tibetan-PhakKeypo)

He is yet another great king of the southern direction. He resides in the middle of the Sumeru Mountain. He rules over a city called Sudarśana located to the south of Sumeru Mountain. The city is extremely beautiful and occupies an area of 6,000 square yojanas. Virudhak leads an assembly of Kumbhaṇḍas to serve as the guardian of Buddhism in the southern direction. In the past Buddha instructed Virudhak that he should protect and guard the dharma in this Jambudvīpa where 1000 Buddhas come to bless the sentient beings. So that the great king of Kumbhaṇḍas promised to protect and guard the Jambudvīpa in the southern direction. The body of this deity is red in colour. He is wrathful in appearance. His right hand holds a sword and left hand rests on his knee. In Nepalese tradition he is

called Khadagrāja and can be seen in the corner of the roof of the temple and also in the entrance of the monasteries (Coomaraswamy.1979:18).

Virupākṣa (Tibetan-MigMidang)

He is one of the four great kings, who rule the first heaven of desire realm in the west. He is lord of Nāgas. He serves as the guardian of this Jambudvīpa in the western direction. His body is red in colour. He shows a wrathful appearance. His right hands hold a spear of three points while his left hand rests on his knee. He can be recognized through the Caitya symbol in his left hand. Virupākṣa lives in the city of Sudarśana on the west of Sumeru Mountain. His city is as beautiful as that of the three other kings. He leads immeasurable serpent deities. Virupākṣa leads besides the retinue of nāgas, innumerable spirits of Sun and Moon and others. They are all responsible for the protection of the dharma. Devotees worship these four Mahārājas in a group.

Vaiṣravaṇa (Tibetan-Nam Those)

He is also one of the four great kings, who rule the first heaven of desire realm in the north. He is lord of Yakṣas. Some regard him as also the lord of wealth who gives blessings for prosperity. Sumeru Mountain, supremely beautiful adorned with precious jewels. It is said that his city is as beautiful as *Sukhāvātī* heaven in the west. He has 5 princes and 28 messengers under his command. They are his retinue. Like the three other kings, he was also instructed by Buddha to protect the dharma in Jambudvīpa in the northern direction.

In Nepalese Buddhist tradition Vaiṣravaṇa or Kubera is worshiped singly and is very popular. Newar Buddhists women make the image of Vaiṣravaṇa out of rice flour during *Yomari-Punhi* festival. It is also customary to keep an image of Vaiṣravaṇa in the treasury room or inside the treasure box. The worshiping of four guardian deities was introduced in China by Pandit Amogh Vajra during 8th century (Chandra. 1999:43).

Aṣṭadikpālas

Following are the eight deities of direction:

Indra or Śakra

Indra is the king of devas in the heaven of *Trāyatṛiṃsaloka* or third heaven of the desire realm. He rides on the Airāvata elephant and is yellow in colour. He holds in his two hands a vajra and a breast of a woman. He is sometimes seated on the Airāvata

elephant wearing a headdress. Sometimes with his right hand he holds a Vajra and his left hand rests on a hip. Śakra is a very popular deity in both Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist tradition.

In the past when Indra was a human being he had 33 pious friends. Under his leadership they cultivated many virtues by helping the poor, establishing many wells for thirsty people and houses for travelers. By these virtues he attained the state of Indra, the king of devas in the city of Sudarśana ruling over 32 palaces. The other 32 friends became the governors of these 32 palaces. *Trāyatṛiṃsa* heaven is a very lovely palace with natural beauty. The city is full of lovely damsels called Apsarās. The only suffering that the citizens of this heaven have is to undergo to fight with Asuras at times. Hence after losing their life or at the end of their life span there arises the five signs or omens which predict their end of life in that heaven. The story of Śakra fighting against Asuras is a very popular literature in Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist tradition.

Śakra is said to be a guardian of Buddhism. He always requested Buddha for dharma teachings for the benefit of all sentient beings. He is better treated in Buddhist literature in contrast to Brāhmaṇic tradition. He usually made a huge offering to Buddhist Saṅgha. It is said that once upon a time, one of the friends of Indra went to *Avici* Hell and suffered a lot. Through repeated requests of Indra, Buddha delivered the Tantra of *Durgatipariśodhana*. When Indra himself was about to die, Buddha delivered and transmitted the dharma door of *Aparimitadhāraṇī* by which the life span of Śakra was extended significantly (Tadeusz. 1983:13).

Yama (Tibetan-Shinje)

He is another popular god sometimes called the King of the Death. He rides on a buffalo. His right hand holds a banner of a human head, and his left hand holds a Tarjanī paśa. Yama is also responsible for ruling over all the *Preta* realms. The Sanskrit word 'Yama' stands also for twin rulers. It means that the king of the death governs hells as well as ghost realms together with his sister. He himself rules over dead males and his sister being responsible for taking care of dead females. Yama lives in a palace surrounded by Cakravāla i.e. an iron-chained mountain in the south of Jambudvīpa. As he rules over the hells he does not enjoy the fruits

of his meritorious karma. Because in his past lives, he created evil kârmic forces and he had to endure the effects of past karma during three periods of time. When he was in suffering, his palace naturally changed into an iron city of burning flame.

According to legends, he was originally a king of Vaishali. At one time he was engaged in a bloody war. He wished he were the master of hell and was accordingly reborn as Yama in hell, together with his generals and army. As per Tibetan legends, however, Yamāntaka, a wrathful manifestation of Manjuśrī, subdued the king Yama.

Kubera (Tibetan-*Nam Thos Re*, Fig. 17)

He is one of the most popular deities among the Nepalese Buddhists due to his bestowed of wealth character. He is generally represented as the lord of wealth and guardian of the northern direction. He is deep yellow in colour and holds in his two hands a goad and a mace. Sometimes he is represented sitting on a lion with a green mane, holding a banner of victory in the right hand and carrying the mongoose, which vomits a wish-fulfilling gem. Kubera's abode is said to be Alakā in the Himalayas, enriched with wealth and abundance. He is always surrounded with Yakṣa Generals and Kinnars. He may have sometimes a third eye also. In the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, it is stated, Kubera the great king of the Yakṣas, bowed before the Buddha and said: "O Lord, I together with the 88 Great War generals of the Yakṣas, will persevere in removing every fear of that great being that holds this *tantra*. I will give wealth and grain in abundance. I will protect his country and provinces, his people, servants, relatives, friends, sons, daughters, wives and the rest. I will take care of his oxen, cows, asses, camels, sheep, elephants, goats and the rest."

He is thus specially invoked for generating wealth and prosperity. There are many legends relating to his role as guardian of all the treasures of the earth and the treasures belonging to the people. Kubera is worshipped both by the Hindus and Buddhists alike.

Varuṇa (Fig. 18)

Varuṇa is also one of the powerful deities representing the lord of water element. He is generally presented as white in colour. He sits on a *Makara*. He holds the invincible noose and a conch in his hands. He is adorned with the serpent's hood over his head. In Nepalese Buddhist tradition, in the Guru Maṇḍala rite the offerings are also made to

Varuṇa in the group of eight i.e. the deities of eight directions. It is said in the *Guṇa Karaṇḍa Vyūha Sūtra*, that Varuṇa emerged from the knees of Ārya Avalokiteśvara and instructed that he should protect the sentient beings by bestowing Amrita or nectar or pure water. Being the lord of the underworld, lord of Nāgas, he should bestow riches of the underworld to the people and protect the dharma. Avalokiteśvara instructed, 'If you perform *Bodhicaryā* as I mention, you will definitely acquire tremendous merits and will attain Buddhahood in future.' In reply Varuṇa promised to act accordingly.

Agni

He is also one of the most powerful gods representing the element of fire presiding in the south-east corner. He is red in colour and has great radiance. He is seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses. He has seven tongues and three eyes. He holds a ladle and a Kamaṇḍal in his two hands. In the Nepalese Buddhist tradition, in the Guru Maṇḍala rite, offering is also made to the Agni Deva along with other deities. He is specially worshiped and revered in the fire offering or home Yajna performance. The *Guṇa Karaṇḍa Vyūha Sūtra* relates that Agni is originated from the navel of Ārya Avalokiteśvara. Ārya Avalokiteśvara instructed Agni Deva to purify the phenomenal world by the fire offered to him. Accordingly Agni Deva promised then to abide by the instruction.

Vāyu

This powerful deity represents the air element and generally represented in blue colour. He resides in the north-west corner riding on a chariot drawn by deer. He carries a flag banner in his hands. He is full of motion. He is the sustenance for the people. He is worshiped as is the custom in a group of eight deities of direction in the Guru Maṇḍala rite. The *Guṇa Karaṇḍa Vyūha Sūtra* further states that Vāyu Deva is originated from the mouth of Ārya Avalokiteśvara. Ārya Avalokiteśvara instructed Vāyu Deva to protect the sentient beings by being vital *Prāṇa* and give blessings and inspire the beings to perform meritorious deeds. He was told that if he performed the deeds as mentioned, he would then certainly attain Buddhahood in future. Vāyu Deva solemnly accepted the blessings with great devotion. In *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, the Lord of the wind said, "O Lord, I will never cause that great being to be terrified by winds. I will not produce untimely winds. I will provide grains,

flowers and fruits and remove all fears.”

Īśāna

Īśāna or Mahādeva is also one of the eight deities of the directions. The word Īśāna represents the north-east corner, so the deity resides in the north-east direction. He is seated on a chariot drawn by bulls. He is white in colour and holds in his two hands a trident and a *Kapāla*. A half moon appears on his matted hair. He is adorned with a sacred thread of a serpent and his body is besmeared with ashes. His throat appears blue. The deity is naked having three eyes. He is worshipped in the Guru Maṇḍala rite of Nepalese Buddhist tradition.

Nairṭi

Nairṭi, one of the eight deities of the directions resides in the south-west direction. He is the lord of the goblins called Nairṭi. He is blue in colour and rides on a corpse. His two hands hold a sword and a *Kapāla* filled with meat. He has a wrathful face with exposed teeth. As usual he is worshipped in the Guru Maṇḍala rite of Nepalese Buddhist tradition, in a group of eight deities of directions.

Guardian Deities

***Mahākāla* (Tibetan-Gompo, Fig. 19)**

This deity is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists. His image can be seen in the entrance of every Buddhist monastery of Kathmandu Valley. He is said to be the protector of the doctrine of Buddha. There are many forms of Mahākāla, among them two-armed, four armed, six armed and sixteen armed being the most popular one. The two-armed form of Mahākāla carved in stone is found in large numbers in Nepalese Buddhist tradition. His body is dark blue in colour and looks wrathful bedecked with ornaments of serpents. He wears a garland of severed heads and a crown of five skulls symbolizing the five defilements. His right hand holds *Karṭi* symbolizing that it can cut ego clinging and attachment and his left hand holds a *Kapāla* filled with blood symbolizing the subjugation of evil ones. He wears tiger skin symbolizing the purification of desire. He has three eyes symbolizing his clear comprehension of three times. He looks ferocious against the blazing fire. His mouth is smeared with blood signifying that he is active in eliminating evils.

The characteristic feature of the Mahākāla is that he, during war, can protect those relying on him since there is limitless number of retinue of spirits and ghosts under his command who are

skilled in battle. He can provide sufficient foods to the needy. Separate temples with Mahākāla alone can be found in large number. It is said that Mahākāla is the manifestation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. A dark blue Hung letter emerged from the heart of Avalokiteśvara which transformed into the Instantaneous Protector of wisdom. Amitābha Buddha proclaimed thus, “Son of the family, you will have the strength of the wrathful Yama, Lord of death. You will have the mountain spirits, the yakṣas, the devils and the demonesses as your messengers. You will embody the great wrathful empowerments of body, speech, mind, qualities and activities of all the Buddhas throughout the three times.” Ever since Mahākāla has remained as the doctrine Protector of all the Buddha fields (Banarjee. 1985:73).

***Gaṇeśa* (Fig. 20)**

He is one of the most popular guardian deities worshipped in Nepal both Hindus and Buddhists alike. Large number of independent temples of this deity is found in Kathmandu Valley. Gaṇeśa is said to be the deity of eliminator of obstacles. To begin any auspicious work or enterprise Nepalese people adore this deity with the hope that they may accomplish their work successfully by averting the obstacles if there be any. The form of Gaṇeśa is described in *Sādhnamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvali*. As described in *Niṣpannayogāvali* “He is white in colour and rides on a mouse having an elephant face. A snake forms his sacred thread. He is four armed. He carries a trisūl and a laḍḍū in his two right hands and a paraśu and a radish in the two left hands” (Bhattacharyya.1949:76). *Sādhnamālā* describes him in the following terms: “The worshipper should conceive himself as god Gaṇapati of red complexion, wearing the crown of chignon, who is decked in all ornaments, has twelve arms, protruding belly and one face, stands in the *Ardhaparyāṅka* in a dancing attitude, is three eyed, and has one tusk; who carries in his right hands the *Kuthāra*, the arrow, the goad, the *Vajra*, the sword and the *Sūla*, and in the left hands the *Mūsala*, the bow, the *Khatvāṅga*, the *Kapāla* of blood, the *Kapāla* of dried meat and the *Phatka*; and who rides the mouse on the red lotus” (Bhattacharya. 1925:328). Benoytosh Bhattacharya writes in his book *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* that the word Phatka might be used for the broken tusk (Bhattacharya.2008:142).

Goddesses

Sarasvatī (Tibetan-Yanggenma)

In the Paurāṇic age she is defined as the goddess of wisdom. The Buddhists borrowed this Brāhmaṇic goddess and incorporated her into their Tāntric Pantheon. She was equally popular both amongst the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist faith. The Buddhist Sarasvatī has one face with two arms or three faces with six arms. It is believed by the Buddhists that like Mañjuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā (Tibetan-Sher Chin), she confers wisdom, learning, intelligence, memory etc.; a large number of sādhanās are assigned to her in the *Sādhanaṃālā* and was imagined her different variations which are mentioned below in brief.

Mahāsarasvatī (Fig. 21)

The distinctive feature of this goddess is that her right hand is in *Varada* Mudrā while left hand carries a white lotus with a stalk. Her complexion is white. She is accompanied by four deities identical in form around her. *Prajñā* is in her front, *Medhā* to her right, *Smṛti* in the left, and *Matī* in the west. The goddess is represented in both sitting and standing attitude. She has a smiling countenance and is extremely compassionate, wears garments decorated with white sandal flowers. Her breast is decorated with the pearl-necklace. She illumines the three worlds with the immeasurable light that radiates from her body.

Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī

Like Mahāsarasvatī, Her complexion is also white, peaceful and benign in appearance. She is also two armed, but distinguishing feature in this case is that she carries Vīṇā in her two hands playing upon it. She is also accompanied by four deities as in the previous case.

Vajrasāradā (Fig. 22)

As mentioned in *Sādhanaṃālā* she rests upon a pure white lotus, and a crescent decorates her headdress. She is three-eyed and two-armed, and carries a book in the left hand and lotus in the right. She was accompanied by four attendants and may have any attitude. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya writes in his book *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* that the image recovered from Nalanda which has been identified as *Kotisri* is probably a stone representation of this goddess. Here the goddess sits in *Bhadrāsana* and her companions have also the same attitude. All the figures in the group are mutilated, but at least one among them carries the

Utpala and the book, in the right and left hands respectively.

Āryasarasvatī (Fig. 23)

Another variation of Sarasvatī, she is also designated as Vajrasarasvatī. She appears as a young girl having white complexion. The goddess carries in her left hand the stalk of a lotus on which rests the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*. The *Sādhanaṃālā* is silent about the symbol of her right hand and her *āsana*. In the drawing she holds the stem of a lotus in the right hand.

Vajrasarasvatī (Fig. 24)

In all other respects her form is identical with Mahāsarasvatī. The difference here is that her hair is brown and rises upwards. She stands in the *Pratyaliḍha* attitude on the red lotus. She has three faces and six arms. The middle face is red in colour while the right and left are of blue and white. She carries in her three right hands the lotus on which is the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the Sword and the *Kartṛi*, and in the three left hands the *Kapāla*, the Jewel and the Cakra. Sometimes instead of the book on the lotus and *Kapāla*, she holds the lotus and the *Kapāla* which is shown in the illustration.

Śrī Devī (Tibetan-Palden Lhamo, Fig. 25)

She is a terrifying glorious goddess. She is the consort of Yama and regarded as Brāhmaṇic goddess Kālī. In Nepal, She is called *Caskamani*. The goddess is armed by various gods. Hevajra gave her two diceto count the life of human being. Brahmā gave her a fan of peacock's feathers. Viṣṇu gave her a lion which she wears in her right ear. Nanda gave her a serpent which hangs from her left ear. Vajrapāṇi equipped her with a hammer. Other gods gave her a white-faced mule which is covered with the skin of a demon and the reins are of venomous serpents. The goddess sits sideways on mule. She wears a long garland of severed heads and is clad in human skin. She has a third eye. Her right hand is raised with a trident-rod. In her left hand she holds a skull cup at the breast. She is backed by flames and also called the queen of warring weapons. She has some attendant queens riding different animals. She is always kept behind the curtain in a corner in many monasteries of Tibet.

Kālī

The goddess is worshipped by the Buddhists in the form of Guheśvarī. She is represented by a long-necked copper jug called *anti* filled with *jāṇḍa* or

country liquor. Another form of the deity, *Taleju Bhavānī* is very famous in Kathmandu Valley of Nepal (Fig. 26). Various Yoginis like-Vajra Yoginī (Tibetan-*DorjeNaljorma*), Vajra Varāhī (Tibetan-*DorjePagmo*), Bhairavī and Ajimā are regarded as guardian deities (Tenzin and Oleshy.1988:42). Here I would like to give a very brief introduction of Vajra Yoginī, VajraVarāhī and Ajimā.

Vajra Yoginī (Tibetan-*DorjeNaljorma*)

She personifies wisdom energy or emptiness (*Sunyatā*). The goddess is depicted as naked. The colour of her body is red. She stands on a sun disc trampling on the Bhairava and his consort. She wears bone ornaments, a crown, a skirt and a garland of fifty one human skulls. In her right hand she holds a curved knife and in left hand a skull cup for drinking blood. She is also shown in a standing bow-arrow posture dancing on a corpse.

VajraVarāhī (Tibetan-*DorjePagmo*, Fig. 27)

She is mentioned as a female incarnate in the abbess of *Yamdrok lake* monastery of Tibet and is also called as 'Diamond sow'. She has a small pig's head above her right ear. In her ordinary form she has three faces out of which the left face is that of a sow. She has eight hands which hold attributes bearing various weapons. She sits with the left leg bent while the right leg is pendant. The goddess sits on a lotus throne drawn by seven swine.

Ajimā (Fig. 28)

This Buddhist goddess protects from small pox and other epidemics in children. She also represents fertility cult. She is identical with Brāhmaṇic goddess Śitalā or Hārīti. Temples of Ajimā and Hariti are in Swayambhu, Boudhanātha and Kathesimbu in Nepal.

Uṣā (Mārīci, Fig. 29)

Brāhmaṇic goddess Uṣā is known as Mārīci in Vajrayāna pantheon. She is the queen of heaven or goddess of Dawn. She is named *Od-zer Chan-ma* by Tibetan Buddhists and invoked at the advent of the morning, showing her connection with the Sun. Like the Sun, she has also a chariot but at the place of seven horses it is drawn by seven pigs. The charioteer of the Sun is Aruṇa with no legs while the charioteer of Mārīci is either a goddess with no legs or Rāhu-only a head without body.

Difference between Mārīci and Vajra Varāhī

Some people believe that Mārīci and VajraVarāhī both are same but during iconographical study I

had noticed that VajraVarāhī is actively associated in yab-yum with her consort Heruka, an emanation of Akṣobhya; on the contrary Mārīci is regarded as a consort of Vairocana and never known to be associated with him in yab-yum, but always appears singly. Heruka rides a corpse lying on its breast and accordingly such a Vāhana has been given to VajraVarāhī, but Mārīci is never known to tread upon a corpse. The images of VajraVarāhī always represent her as one-faced with an excrescence near the right ear, but Mārīci is never known to have any excrescence anywhere in her body. According to the *Sādhanās* VajraVarāhī may have four arms but Mārīci must have two, eight, ten or twelve arms and never have four arms. Mārīci always resides in the womb of a *caitya*, whereas VajraVarāhī being an abbess may reside anywhere (Waddel.1895:43).

The mantra for VajraVarāhī is “*Om Sarva-Buddhadakiniye Vajravārnaniye hum humhumphatphat Svāhā*”, whereas the mantras for Mārīci are “*Om Mārīcyai mam hum Svāhā*” or “*Om Vajravetali hum phat*”. The conception of Mārīci has a greater antiquity than the conception of either VajraVarāhī or Heruka. The union of Heruka and VajraVarāhī is the subject-matter of the VajraVarāhīTantra but no Tantra is assigned to Mārīci. VajraVarāhī stands in the *Ardhaparyāṅka* in a dancing attitude on a corpse, but Mārīci stands always in the *Alidhā* attitude, moves in a chariot but never has the dancing attitude. VajraVarāhī has been called a *Ḍākinī* or an abbess who has attained perfection, and has become a deified lady; but Mārīci is a goddess.

A part of these goddesses Gaṅgā (Fig. 30) and Vasudharā (Fig. 31) are also worshipped and included in the Vajrayāna pantheon.

Non-human Deities

Nāga (Serpent; Tibetan-Lu, Fig. 32), **Garuḍa** (Tibetan-Chug, Fig. 33-34), **Demons** (Elephant-headed, Red-Tiger Devil), **Witches** (Bear-headed, Tiger-headed).

The above description compelled us to believe that there was an intermingling of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism. As far as the deities are concerned, the mixture of both religions is also evident from them. Various small *caityas* scattered around the stūpa of Svayambhunāth and other Buddhist places in Nepal are made after the model of *lingam* and *yonī* and dedicated to Buddhism. On the influence of Tantrism, magic, colour, signs,

gestures, postures and symbols are given on them.

Glossary

Abhaya Mudrā: Gesture of protection or blessing of fearlessness. Right arm is elevated, slightly bent. Hand is at the level of shoulder. All fingers are outstretched and palm turned outward. It differs from *Varad Mudrā* in which the hand is stretched downwards with the fingers, instead of being elevated, pointed downwards (Fig.-35). This mudrā is characteristic of Amoghasiddhi, a Dhyānī Buddha, and Dipaṅkara.

Ādi Buddha: Primordial monotheistic god, who is the embodiment of *Śūnya* (emptiness). He is the highest deity of Buddhist pantheon. Dhyānī Buddhas owe their origin to him.

Akṣobhya: One of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Representing East, painted in blue colour, touching the ground pose, Śakti-Loṇā and vehicle is elephant. Embodiment is body consciousness.

Alidhāsana: Standing attitude of heroism, in all respects similar to the attitude adopted in drawing the bow charged with an arrow. The right leg is outstretched while the left leg is slightly bent. Differs from *Pratyalidhā* in which the left leg is outstretched while right is slightly bent and placed behind. Position of Kurukulla, some Dākinīs and some Yidams (Fig.-36).

Amitābha : One of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Representing West, painted in red colour, Meditation pose, Consort-Māmkī and vehicle is horse. Embodiment is sensation. Two hands in lap with bowl.

Ardhaparyāṅka : It is a particular sitting posture, also called *Mahārājāṇīlā*. Both the legs are on the same pedestal; one of the knees is raised while the other is bent in the usual position of a Buddha. This *āsana* should be distinguished from the *Lalitāsana* in which case one of the legs is pendent, while the other is bent in the usual position of a Buddha. When both the legs are pendent, the attitude is called the *Bhadrāsana*.

Bodhicitta: Will to enlighten

Caitya (Tibetan-*Chorten*): Represents Buddhist universe and is a Buddhist sanctuary. It has square or round spires as steps on the capital. Each one represents a heaven. The uppermost is regarded as the highest peak of Mount Sumeru, a mythical mountain when *Bodhicitta* loses itself in *Śūnya*. On the four sides are depicted Dhyānī Buddhas viz.,

Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west and Amoghasiddhi in the north. Sometimes Vairocana is also depicted; otherwise he is considered as centre of the *maṇḍala*.

In Tibet, *Caitya* is regarded as a receptacle for offerings. It is a solid conical masonry structure intended as relic-holders. It is created either in the memory of Buddha himself or some Tibetan saints. It is a massive hemisphere or solid dome called *garbha* enclosing the relics. It is surrounded by elaborate plinths and crowned by a square capital called *torāṇa*. The spire is called *cūḍāmaṇi* of thirteen step-like segments which represent thirteen Buddhist heavens. It is surmounted by a bell-shaped symbol called *kalaśa* or holy vase. Above it is a tapering pinnacle having a lotus flower, crescent moon, globular sun and finally surmounted by a tongue-shaped spike representing sacred light or Buddha himself. Sometimes a small image of Buddha is placed in the niche (Fig.-37).

Chinnamastā : One of the ten Mahāvidyā, important group of female deities. Represents knowledge (Fig.-38).

Dākinī (Tibetan-*mkah-gro-ma*): Consorts of the demonical tutelary and generals of the latter. Most common is lion-faced (Fig.-39).

Dharmacakra mudrā : Preaching the Buddhist law, also called *Vyākhyāna mudrā*. Both hands are pressed against the breast, with the left hand lowering the right hand (Fig. 40). Mudrā of Vairocana, Maitreya and the Buddha.

Dhāranī : Meaningless conglomeration of syllables having one or two intelligible words, used as a charm.

Dikpālas : Guardian of four directions; Indra-East, Varuṇa-West, Kubera-North and Yama-South. Regents of four corners; Agni-South-East, Vāyu-North-West, Īṣāna-North-East and Nairāṭi-South-West. These eight guardians are invoked during religious rituals, especially related to construction of buildings.

Guhyasamāja Tantra : One of the highest Yoga Tantra which claims that Buddhahood is possible within a single life time. Practice of the deities of this *tantra* involves sexual imagery which is appropriate for most gifted practitioners only.

Hari-HarīVāhana : One form of Lokeśvara. It is represented both in sculptures and on *thankās*. Regarded as basically of Nepalese origin, it is

composite image of Avalokiteśvara or Viṣṇu. He is associated with the legend of *Takṣaka*, the serpent king and Viṣṇu. Original image of this deity is in Chhangunārāyaṇa Temple near Bhaktapur in Nepal.

Hārīti : Goddess of children.

Hayagrīva : One of the emanations of Avalokiteśvara. He is *Iṣṭadevatā* or *Yidam*. This Horse-headed deity neighs so loudly that sound pierces all false appearance of inherent existence or subtle reality (Fig.-41).

Heruka : Tāntric deity (Fig.-42) not in *Yab-Yum* (ecstatic union) When with Śakti called Hevajra.

Hevajra : Tutelary deity accompanied with Śakti or *Prajñā* in *Yab-Yum* (Fig.-43). Four, Six or Sixteen armed. One form of popular *Yidam* deity of highest Yoga Tantra. Hevajra symbolize sence of wisdom or *Prajñā* and great compassion.

Kapāla : It is made of severed head of man or cup made of skull as a bowl. Used in Tāntric rituals for having blood. It is depicted in the hand of Kālī and other manifestations of Śiva-Śakti. Mahākālī and Dākinīs also have *kapāla* in one of her hands. When *kapāla* contains blood, it is called *Arak kapāla* and when contain flesh it is called *māṃsakapāla*. Deities take blood or flesh filled in *kapālas* (Fig.-44).

Kartṛi : A small knife for chopping a wicked one; sometimes the edge of it is uneven like the edge of a saw. It is called *Vajrakartṛi* when surmounted by a Vajra.

Khaḍga : Sword of wisdom; a symbol of enlightenment. It destroys ignorance which is the enemy of liberation from the bond of worldly attachments. It is a special symbol of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom. The sword which he holds high in his right hand is called *Prajñākhaḍga* i.e. sword of wisdom, which is believed to destroy the darkness of ignorance by the luminous rays issuing out from it.

Khatvāṅga : It is made of bone of fore arm or leg or sometimes of wood and metal. On *Khatvāṅga*, human skulls are shown. Generally surmounted either by *vajra* or *kapāla* or *triśūla* or banner or all of them. *Khatvāṅga* is held by Dākinīs and Vajrayāna saints. Padmasambhava always hold it in one hand (Fig.-45).

Machendranātha (Matsyendranātha) : Unique deity of Nepal; worshipped both Hindus and Buddhists. Considered as protector of the valley.

Popular deities are White Matsyendranātha and Red Machendranātha.

Prajñāpāramitā (Tibetan-Sher-Chin) : The perfection of wisdom; a goddess who personifies wisdom (Fig.-46).

Ratnasambhava : One of the five Dhyānī Buddhas; symbolizes wisdom of equality. He is yellow in colour and belongs to the Buddha family of jewel. When Ratnasambhava attained enlightenment, golden coloured rays emitted from his crown. Meditating on Ratnasambhava, one's desire would be fulfilled.

Śūnya : In the absence of a suitable and more expressive word, it is translated as 'Void'. It signifies a stage of the mind after Nirvāṇa, about which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, nor a negation of the two can be predicated. In the Vajrayāna, this *Śūnya* is identified with compassion which transforms itself in the form of divinities, of the nature of *Śūnya*, for the welfare and happiness of men.

Tārā (Tibetan-Dolmā) : The female deity who personifies enlightenment. The savior or deliverer, consort of Avalokiteśvara. In 7th century, female principle was introduced in Buddhism in the form of Tārā. First of all two forms were known: White and Green Tārā; later on her forms increased up to twenty one.

Thankā : Paintings of religious themes on coarse cloth or canvas called *paubhas*, *patas* or *thankās*. It can be rolled up in form of a scroll. Impact of calligraphy and landscape painting of Chinese style is also evident. Thankās are used for worship and performance of meditation. It is highly meritorious (Fig.-47).

Trailokya : Pertaining to the three worlds, the terrestrial, the celestial and the infernal.

Uṣṇisa : Protuberance on the skull of the Buddha.

Uttarabodhi mudrā : Best perfection pose. All fingers locked, palm together, thumbs and index fingers touching at tips, fingers extended upward (Fig.-48).

Vairocana : One of the five Dhyānī Buddhas; symbolizing all pervasive wisdom i.e. knowledge free from all kinds of obscurations. Placed in sanctum of stūpa.

Vajra (Tibetan-Dorje) : It is a small metallic object also called the Thunderbolt which destroys all kinds

of ignorance and enemies. It is indestructible and can not be bent or broken. It is a symbol of Brāhmaṇic God Indra. In Tāntrism, Vajra symbolizes male principle when it is held in the right hand but when it is held in the left hand, it symbolizes the female principle. The interaction leads to enlightenment. It is believed that Buddhist God got Vajra from the Brāhmaṇic God Indra and slightly modified by closing the points of darts. Vajra of Brāhmaṇic Gods has three flat darts, the points of which do not touch like those of Tibetan Vajras. The Tibetan variety is round and has four darts and the points are closed. Thus it appears in the form of a lotus bud. A fifth dart runs through the centre of the Vajra, thus there are five darts. Vajra represents five bodies of Dhyānī Buddhas. In Vajrayāna school of Buddhism, Vajra is the symbol of *liṅga*.

The word Vajra is also used to designate a school of Buddhism called Vajrayāna. This sect was the successor of the Mahāyāna, the great path. In Tibet all prayers, recitations and invocations are accompanied by several ritual objects, including Vajra, which destroys everything and which is a symbol of boundless power. The double Vajra is the attribute of Bodhisattva Amoghasiddhi and his consort Tārā. Vajra stands for skill or *Upāya*. Double thunderbolt is called *Viśva Vajra*. Sometimes Vajra is placed vertically on a lotus (Fig.-49).

Varada mudrā : Boon giving pose. Arm extended down with palm facing outwards. Fingers also extended downwards. *Mudrā* of standing Śākyamuni, Ratnasambhava and Avalokiteśvara (Fig.-50).

Yab-Yum : Father-mother concept. Tibetan word *Yab* means father and *Yum* means mother i.e. in union or in company of mother or in her embrace (Fig.-51).

In Chinese tradition it is called *Yin-Yang*. Yin is a passive female principle of the universe while Yang is a active male principle of the universe; both are interdependent. Yin is associated with darkness, water and the female while Yang is associated with light, activity and male.

Yoginīs : Hybrid deities, unique in Nepal. Considered practitioners of yoga (Fig.-52).

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

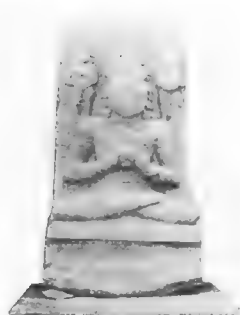


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

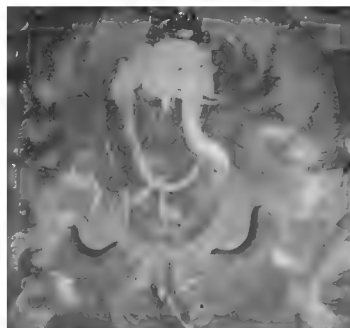


Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37

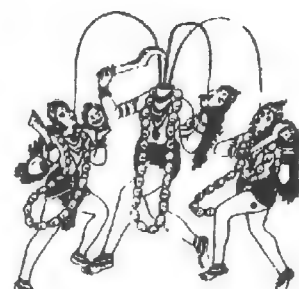


Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46

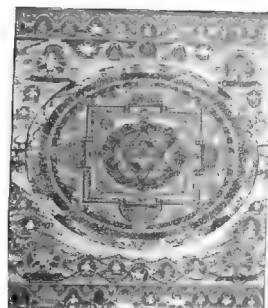


Fig. 47



Fig. 48

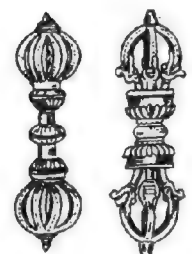


Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51

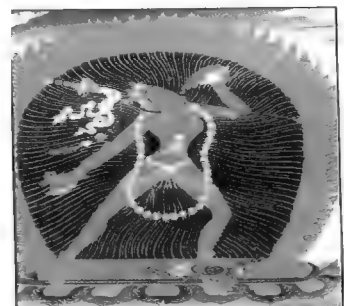


Fig. 52

Inscriptions of Dhubelā Museum

Prof. Arvind K. Singh



hubelā Museum is located (25°49', 79°29') 2 kilometers to the south of the village Maū-Sahāniā on the Chhatarpur-Nowgaon highway and 16 kilometers off district headquarter Chhatarpur in the state of Madhya Pradesh. It was

set up in 1955 in a palace built by *Mahārāja Chhatrasāla* and known as the *Mahārāja Chhatrasāla Museum*. The Museum houses a wide range of sculptures, paintings, garments, weapons, inscriptions and other objects. During our visit to the Museum in March 2011, I noticed several inscriptions that are preserved in the Museum. One gallery is fully devoted to the stone inscriptions and another gallery to the copper-plate inscriptions. In addition several sculptures bear inscriptions on their pedestals. Most of the inscriptions of political importance, both on the stones and on the copper-plates, have been deciphered and published. Moreover, there are a large number of label inscriptions, memorial or hero-sati inscriptions and Jaina image inscriptions. The label inscriptions are generally carved on the pedestals and mention the names of the deity of the sculptures, such as Śrī Bhānadhā, Śrī Taralā, Śrī Vābhavā, Śrī Chapalā, Śrī Itaralā, Śrī Ṭhabhā, Śrī Vadarī, Śrī Bāmanā, Śrī Tāraṇī, Śrī Vāṇaprabhā, Śrī Krishna Bhagavati, Śrī Ramaṇī, Jiuti and others. One stone slab bears the name of the architect Ruhūla as '*śrī sūtradhārī Ruhūla praṇamaritī*'. The inscriptions on the pedestal of Jaina images have been studied some separately. Here, I am focusing on the other

unpublished stones and copper-plates inscriptions, including memorial inscriptions.

A. Hero and Sati Stone Pillar Inscription:

Several hero and Sati pillars bearing inscriptions are displayed in the stone inscription gallery of the *Mahārāja Chhatrasāla Museum* of Dhubelā. During my visit I have noticed the text from the original stone and prepared digital photographs. The photographs helped me in verifying the reading of the inscriptions.

The memorials of Dhubelā Museum might be categorized into hero as well as combined hero-sati types. The hero stone, as the name suggest is a stone tablet erected in the memory of a hero who bears the responsibility of protecting and defending society even at the cost of his life. Society in turn, recognized his services and admired his courage as well as contribution. The heroic act was also highly appreciated in ancient literature. Early literature and epigraphs reveal the terms like *yashṭi*, *lashṭi*, *chhāyāstambha* etc. for the memorial.¹ *Mahākāvyas* have used the image of the dead hero welcomed by celestial damsel in heaven, hence the following verses occur on hero stone, 'victorious bring wealth, death the clasp of heavenly nymphs, why fear death on the battle field when this human body is liable to destruction any moment'. The purpose of the erection of a hero stone was to make the soul of a hero inhabit the stone. The erection of it was considered as a noble work and the person responsible for this gets merit. Such information reveal that immolation received social sanction and the committer of that becomes heroes. It is possible that heroic acts are influenced by integrity, loyalty to a cause or to mother-earth, self sacrifice and daring all these to an exceptional and spectacular degree

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while assurances of social, economic and spiritual gains appear to have emboldened so much as to lead to embrace death in the battle field without anxiety. In consideration the antiquity, one can say that the erection of memorials for the dead is an ancient custom practiced even from the pre-historic times, however, that is different from the erection of memorials for those who died for the sake of noble cause.

The tradition concerned with heroism is universal. The memories of the hero are kept alive or revive through erecting memorials, which were erected due to the mark of respect and admiration for a deceased hero; and by doing so it was intended to mark the heroism of that person to know to the world at large. In its basic outset memorial stone is of commemorative character, raised in memory or honour of the dead and to pay homage, or respect to him on certain occasions. Sometimes it is worshipped for victory in war, rain, fertility etc. These memorials are of many types. The commonest one consists of a flat slab of stone divided into some rectangular panels. The main variations within the type are deriving from differences in sculptures and contents of inscriptions that occur on the memorials. The depiction, sometimes, correspond to the characters of the occasions which had caused their erection, as for the death of an individual in battle, the battle scene might be depicted. Sati stones in general memorize the devotion of the wife to husband. Sati has become synonym of affection to husband and high order of morality for a woman in Hindu society; however, the most typical and culminating form of the *Sati* is found in the rite of self immolation. There was a general belief among the women that the wife is not separated from her husband and she does not become a widow if commits Sati. Sati custom is of two types, known as *sahamaraṇa* and *anumaraṇa*. In the first wife immolates herself on her demised husband funeral pyre while in second, on hearing the death of her husband in a remote place, she enters fire with or without any remains of her husband.² Among the various methods of honouring the *Sati*, the simplest way was to erect a memorial stone. Both types of memorials are preserved in the Dhubelā Museum which should help to understand the different aspects of history.

Several memorial pillars of Dhubelā Museum bear panels of sculptures. Only one face of

the pillars depicts such a representation above inscription. The upper part of the pillars is generally flat, however, some of them ended in arch shape. Pillars depict scenes in one panel or divided into three rectangular panels. Of the three panels of hero-sati pillar (Pl. 1), the upper one symbolizes *Sati* by showing hand with frontal palms bearing bangles as an insignia of *saubhāgya* in the wrist flanked by sun and moon symbols on either side. The moon is depicted in crescent form. The symbols of sun and moon are probably for the purpose to ensure the memory of the *Sati* as long as they exist. The symbol of hand and arm with bangles might symbolize the blessing given by the *Sati*. The representation of *Sati* stone with pillar and arm could be considered as identical with the marriage pole. The second panel is related to *devaloka*, displaying Śiva-linga with Yoni worship by standing husband and wife with folded hands. The hero is joined by his wife during the worship of Śiva indicates that the woman committed Sati on the funeral pyre of her husband that is also confirmed by the scene of the lower panel. The lower panel is concerned with *mṛityuloka* having the scene of deceased man lying on funeral pyre and the wife is standing near the feet. Interestingly, most of the hero-sati pillars of the museum depict the portraits of the both husband and wife. In one such depiction husband holds sword in his right hand that indicates his profession of warrior (Pl. 2). Another hero-sati pillar bears similar scene (Pl. 3). One of the pillar depicts on the upper border hand with frontal palm bearing bangles flanked by sun and moon symbol while in the panel wife is shown standing behind the husband who with his bow and arrow is trying to slay or frighten the tiger standing in front of him (Pl. 4). The sun, moon, *pañcha-lingī* and hand symbols are sketchily engraved on the upper border of one pillar which consist portrayal of husband and wife in the panel (Pl. 5). The portrait of husband and wife is shown in deep cut panel of a Sati pillar (Pl. 6). Another pillar bears only sun and moon symbol, lacking hand symbol, on the upper portion with husband and wife portrayal in the panel (Pl. 7). The artist takes special interest in carving the panel of a Sati pillar depicting both the sides in pillared structure form and roof is in arched shape. The right hand of the wife is shown on husband's shoulder and his left hand is on the back of wife while the right hand hanging down, the wife left hand is in blessing posture. Above the panel there are the representations of hand with frontal palm bearing

bangles, sun, moon and pitcher (*kalāṣa*) symbols (Pl. 8). The formation of another Sati pillar is also artistic. In the deep cut panel husband and wife are shown holding the hands of each other and wearing prominent ornaments and garments. Over the head of the husband the projection is similar to the *śikhara* of a temple with a bird seated on the top. There are also the symbols of hand with frontal palm bearing bangle, sun, moon and *pañcha-līṅgī* (Pl.9). In case of the portrayals of the simple hero pillar, panel illustrate fighting scene with one of the warrior as horse-rider holding a long spear in the right hand while other warrior is shown standing on ground and possibly helping the horse to cross the obstruction (Pl. 10).

The majority of the pillars are inscribed. The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit. The alphabet is Nāgarī, sometimes engraved sketchily and even the surface containing inscriptions were not well dressed before carvings. Most of the epigraphs have suffered from exposure to weather so much so that they have become illegible to some extent and make the work of decipherment complicated.

I. Hero Stone Inscription of the time of Haṁmiradeva: Saṁvat 1326

There are 6 lines, begins with *svasti*. It records that in the reign of *mahārājādhirāja* Haṁmiradeva *mahārāuta* Dhudhūli, son of *rāuta* Mahirāmvasu and grandson of *mahārāuta* Ugahe fought the battle against the invading forces of three rulers namely Maharājadeva, Śivadāsa and Ajayarāja. The whole incident might be like that *mahārāuta* Dhudhūli, a feudatory of *mahārājādhirāja* Haṁmiradeva, died while fighting against the invading army of three rulers. The battle was fought on Monday, Māghasudi 4 of the year 1326. The last line consists the name of *rāuta* Kānhu who was possibly responsible for erection of the memorial pillar to keep alive the memory of the battle.

TEXT
(Pl.10)

1. स्वस्ति श्री(श्री) महाराजद्धि(जाधि)राज श्री(श्री) हंमिरदेवर(रा)जा पुज्यमन एषधरा सु(शु)भस्य
2. महाराजत श्री(श्री) उगहे सुत राजत श्री(श्री) महिराम्वसु पुत्र महाराजत श्री(श्री) धुधूलि जुद्धि-

3. षणै लिनया त्रीराज(जा) श्री(श्री) मा(म)हराजदेवू मौणनगराह राजा सि(श्री) सिवदास मडा—
4. — पेन राजा अजयराज त्रिनी राजा मिली चडिअगतं तस्ये निमेतेत्वे जु-
5. द्धतं संवा(व)त् 1326 समा(म)ए माघ सुदि 4 सोम दिने
6. स्मर्तायुधर राजत कान्हु क्रित्य

II. Sati Stone Inscription of Saṁvat 1343

There are 3 lines of writing. It records the name of Likhpati, brother of Vadila, who possibly died and perhaps his wife Hiradu committed Sati in the year 1313 while the inscription was written in the year 1343.

TEXT
(Pl.2)

1. संवत् 1343 समये जाहामि वदिलव्वंधु
2. लिखपति संवत् 1313 सती हीरदुंस्थशु जठरिस्स-
3. ग

III. Sati Stone Inscription of Saṁvat 1396

It consists 7 lines, begins with the symbol *siddham* followed by the date Saṁvat 1396 while Jeṭha-vadi 6, Thursday is written in the line 5. After welcoming Pāninātha, the inscription speaks of Kulhau's son Dukalai who belonged to renowned Māḍe *thākura* family was comparable to lion in bravery, possibly died and his wife Subhashaṇi, the daughter of Āsī, committed Sati. Line 4 of the inscription reveals the name of *sutradhāra* Dhanau who prepared the memorial. Last two lines disclose the names of sons who possibly pay regard to the deceased and the memorial.

TEXT
(Pl.4)

1. सिद्धम् । संवत् 1396 पानिनाथ स्वगतहे । प्रसिद्धान माडे
2. ठा कुलकस्य वलिम्रीसे सिंहौ कुलहौस्तस्य पुत्रः दु-
3. कलै । भार्यु(र्या) सुभषणि सहात सिधि । आसी पुत्री
4. स्तजोनिमीत्य जगहत्यनीमी कृत्यं सुत्रधी(धा)री धनौ
5. जेठ वदि 6 गुरौर्कितं

6. ददु च रिपुभो युधापि सुत अरुरिधु वाहणु जैदू-
7. सेनइ दिन पाएण कल्हुपदि अपुणनहेदू

IV. Sati Stone Inscription of Samvat 1397

There are 6 lines of writing. It begins with *siddham* symbol followed by *svasti* and the date in Samvat 1397, Pausha-vadi, 7, Friday. It mentions that Dūraga died, Kalirāshe committed Sati and the image was caused to build and memorial was installed by Nonudeva, son of Hausadeva.

TEXT
(Pl.3)

1. सिद्धम् । स्वस्ति ॥ 1397 वर्षे पौष वदि 7
2. सुक्रेभ्यतो ककलीराषेत्य सती दूरग
3. दिवंगतः ॥ हउशदेव पुत्रं नोणु-
4. देवेनांसौ प्रतिमाकराद्रितेन-
5. स्य सूनामं संवत्सरः ।।
6. थवैत्तुल्लै

V. Sati Stone Inscription of the time of Nṛirāja : Samvat 1400

There are 6 lines of writing, begins with *svasti* and followed by the date Samvat 1400, Āśvini-vadi 5, Saturday. Then it records that in the reign of Nṛirājadeva, Ādrai's son Mahatasena who belonged to the village Kumhārī fought with Dedū, son of Khādū and possibly died while protecting the animals. Plausibly his wife Dugonī committed Sati.

TEXT
(Pl.5)

1. स्वस्ति संवत् 1400 समयो अ-
2. स्वनि वदि 5 सनौ जदहुउर स्थानौ
3. पोनागम नृराजदेव राज्ये । कुम्हा-
4. री ग्रामं कुडुमां आद्रै सुत महत-
5. सेनं वहः न्वंक खादू सुत देदू । गो-
6. धनो दृता दुगोनी

VI. Sati Stone Inscription of the time of Gaharāja : Samvat 1400

There are 7 lines of writing, begins with Samvat 1400, Vaiśākha-vadi 11, Thursday and records the reign of *mahārāja* Gaharājadeva of Nuvāganagara. Further it records that Vāgha Darasosha died in the battle and his wife Harā committed Sati.

TEXT
(Pl.6)

1. संवत् 1400 समये वैसाष
2. वदि 11 गुरौ नुवागनगर
3. महारा[ज] श्री गहराजदेव राज्ये
4. वाघह दरसोष धराय हरा
5. सतीनौ वर्यिताछ(नु)गर्त ययौ
6. सत्मनुजा राह मऊ हीतरा-
7. तज्यि ——— वरि जुधा

VII. Sati Stone Inscription of the time of Śrīsiṃgha : Samvat 1431

The inscription consists 8 lines. It begins with the date Samvat 1431, Śrāvaṇa-sudi 2, Wednesday and records the names of *mahāsultāna* Piroḍāsāha, local ruling king *mahārājādhirāja* Śrīsiṃgha. Then it mentions the fight between Harihara and Garga in which possibly the latter died and his wife Jaraḍā commits Sati.

TEXT
(Pl.7)

1. संवत् 1431 समये रौद्र-
2. नम संवत्सरे । श्रा[व]न सुदि 2 बु-
3. धे । महासुरुतान पिरौडा-
4. साहि भुंजते । उवाहे अनुगते ।
5. महाराजाधिराज श्रीसिंघ
6. राज्ये । च्छोनधेयमाव हरि-
7. हर जुद्धदा गर्गस्य मुयट पुन
8. जरडा —————

VIII. Hero Stone Inscription of the time of Virarājadeva : Samvat 14.

It consists 8 lines of writing, begins with the symbol

for *siddham* followed by the date but at present only the first two numeral signs for 14 and Māgha-sudi is readable. Then it mentions the ruling king *mahārājādhirāja* Virarājadeva, *mahāpradhāna* Kumvarā and fight between Ranaipati and Harirāja in the battlefield of Kavarāpara in which the latter was victorious.

TEXT

(Pl.11)

1. सिद्धम् । स्वस्तिः । संवत् 14..
2. माघ सुदि [7] महाराजाधिरा[ज]
3. श्री वीरराजदेव राज्ये
4. महाप्रधान कुम्बराके
5. सीधाव् हरित्माच्छिनच्छेधा-
6. मे । रनइपति एतो कवरा-
7. पर जुधाप हरिराज विज-
8. व्यः ॥

IX. Fragmentary Sati Stone Inscription of the time of Virarāja : Samvat 1478

The pillar bearing inscription is now broken and lying loose in the open air, outside the stone inscription gallery. It consists 10 lines of writing, beginnings with the date Samvat 1478, Phālguna-sudi 14, Monday. In the mutilated portion the name of the Sultāna Dhiaṇetasāhi and the ruling local king Virarāja may be surmised. Plausibly, the lines 6-7 record that after the death of Dharmu in a battle, daughter of Punvāla commit Sati and in memory of both the stone pillar was erected.

TEXT

(Pl.12)

1. संवत् 1478 वर्षे फाल्गुन
2. सुदि 14 भौमै । श्री सूरत्राण धि-
3. अणेतसाहिराज्ये । डाहीत्यु-
4. धि पडुए । श्री वीरराजसुष्वमा
5. द्यः स्मिनकाले प्रसंगायात
6. विप्रपुन्वालस्तन्याशिला -----

7. ---- धर्मुविरह स्मर्णो ---- त्वशि
8. ---- रामदास ---- ण
9. ----- क सोनूदासः
10. --- राज ----- हराये ।

X. Sati Stone Inscription of the time of Rāmachandra : Samvat 1627

There are altogether 15 lines of writing. It begins with *svasti* and mentions the ruling king *mahārājādhirāja* Rāmacandradeva of Vāyavagaḍha. Then it records the genealogy of the Dube family of Agapura to which belong Isura Dube, his son was Samogha Dube, his son Kisuna Dube was very brave. Then it records that probably in the fight Bhuraṁdeva died and his wife Phatodevī, daughter of Kiku committed Sati by the rite of *anumaraṇa*. The memorial was installed in the year 1627, Śrāvaṇa-vadi 8, Monday.

TEXT

(Pl.13)

1. स्वस्ति श्री वायवगढ
2. विषमदुर्गे महाराजा-
3. धिराज श्री रामचंद्रदेव
4. राज्ये वंस वघेले अगपु-
5. र दुवे इसुर तस्यात्मज
6. दुवे समोघ तस्य सुत दुवे
7. किसुन महावीरम्योकाः
8. जुधि पुरवारि ग्रम्घोददि
9. वरे अमग्रामदिवरे ॥ दुवे
10. भुरदेवो । तस्य सहगा-
11. मिनि फतोदेवी तस्य पी(पि)ता
12. श्री की[कु] करापी(पि)तां दुवेत्मानोत्य
13. श्रीवागीसरी श्राधृ जिमनो
14. पुनुवः [॥] संवत् 1627 श्र(श्रा)वण
15. वदि 8 से(सो)मेकुह ॥ ॥

B. Other Stones and Copper-plates Inscriptions :

Besides memorial inscriptions, there are some other inscriptions in the Museum of the time of the Bundelā kings and other local rulers engraved on stones as well as on copper-plates. As for the Bundelā kingdoms surrounding Chhatarpur were Pannā, Orchhā, Datiā, Charkhārī, Bijāwar, and Ajaigarh. Orchhā was the parent Bundelā kingdom founded in c. C.E. 1501. The kingdom of Datiā and Pannā separated from Orachhā in C.E. 1626 and 1675 respectively. Charkhārī, Bijāwar, and Ajaigarh were formed from Pannā territory in the second half of the eighteenth century, following dissensions amongst the descendants of *mahārāja* Chhatrasāla (1649-1731), the founder of Pannā⁶. Despite that some of the inscriptions do not record the name of the ruling kings.

XI. Stone Inscription of the time of Virasimgha : Samvat 1675

There are 19 lines of writing engraved between the borders of lines. In the upper portion there are symbols of sun and moon as on the memorials. The first four lines of the inscription mentions the iconographic features and records the adoration of the lord Gaṇeśa followed by the date Samvat 1675, Mārga-vadi 8, Monday. Then it mentions the names of *mahārājakumāra* of Dhadhare namely Abhayakalpanasāha, his son *mahārājādhirāja-rājāvira* Virasimghadeva and records the incident that occurred in Samvat 1675, Māgha-vadi 6, Sunday.

TEXT

(Pl.14)

1. दंतयेकं फरसुहस्तं गजमुखसुडं कुंभसिंदुर
2. चुचां । निर्विघ्नं विघ्नहंता सु(शु)भमतिकनं मोहिं काज सरणु
3. गतां । द्रस्यं सवदेवस्यपुरविहंनंदइन्त्यसिग्रामयुथां ।
4. सुमिरना गनपति सिधिदात गरेस जा जुव सतकरमरम
5. संवत् 1675 वर्षे मार्ग वदि 8 सोमवा-
6. सरे सुरदीकांनी उद्धवाउललवर
7. मानदधधरे महाराज कुमार अभय-
8. कल्पनसाह कै वेटे श्री महाराजूध(जाधि)रा-
9. ज राजा वीर वीरसिंघदेवकां वेटीतु रस-

10. वती की सुरहामौजुह भइ संवत् 167-
11. म(5) वर्ष माघ वा(वदि) 6 र[वि] दिने पवीसाडां सीझ
12. अलम क राजुराजा वीर वीरासी(रसिं)घदेव क
13. उठवारूशै गडघाप वेटी के कुसवताप्का पु-
14. धान वदनुप सालोगै हजार अदतपव-
15. स 3 गुर 25 25 प श्री सलगखे सु-
16. हर सतासमाषाव सतावेनं गदरंघनके
17. ज वढदावयसयलकविन सुकारौतहं सुगधंहे
18. डावन सतगटषहामसलमनावभासतास
19. चउथत्

XII. Gadhakundāra Stone Inscription of the time of Virasimgha: V.S. 1681, Śaka 1546

The stone bearing the inscription was originally put in the well of Gaja, near village Kuḍāra (Gadhakundāra) of Nivāḍi *tehasila* in the district Tikamagarh of Madhya Pradesh and later on shifted to the Museum. There are 16 lines in all of which last line is engraved vertically outside of the left border. The language of the inscription is Hindi mixed with local dialects and written in Nāgarī characters. It begins with the adoration to lord Rāma and Kṛishṇa followed by the date both in Vikrama Samvat and Śaka-Sālivāhana Samvat. In the first it is 1681 and in the second Samvat 1546 Āshāḍha-vadi 11, Wednesday. It further records that at the time when Jahāngīra (C.E. 1605-1628) was the paramount ruler and *mahārājādhirāja* Virasimgha (C.E. 1606-1627) was the ruler of Orachhā a well was constructed for the religious merit by Durgādāsa, the son of *pradhāna* Hariharadāsa and others whose names are given. Of them, Prirāgadāsa was Prāgadāsa, Śyāmadāsa also known as Ghanaśyāmadāsa was probably the uncle of Virasimgha and son of Mahārāja Rudrapratāpa. Venidāsa was the son of Virasimgha.

TEXT

(Pl.15)

1. सिधि श्री श्री रामचंद्र श्री क्री-
2. स्नजी ॥ श्रीनृपति विक्र-

3. म(मा)दित्यराज्यातु(नु)गत संवत्
4. 1681 साके सालीवाहम(न)
5. 1546 वरषे आष(षा)ढ वदी
6. 11 बुधे तत्समये श्री जहागिर
7. पातीसाहि राज्ये श्री मा(म)हारा-
8. ज्यधी(जाधि)राज राजा श्री वीरसी(सिं)-
9. घदेवक प्रधन्न(धान) हरीहरदा-
10. सकै पुत्र धर्मुकारी कुवा व-
11. धायो प्रधान दुर्गादास ॥ प्र-
12. धान प्रीरागदासजी भया
13. स्यामदास भय(या) मनोहरदा-
14. स परीदुब्रनीदास वेनीदा-
15. सज श्री श्री श्री श्री
16. पती वरी आसकरन

XIII. Bijāvāra Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Chhatrasāla: Saṁvat 1759

The copper-plate was issued from Maū on the date Saṁvat 1759 Kārtika-sudi 4, which was procured in the Museum from the sub-treasury of Bijāvāra. It consists 16 lines of writing, besides the seal, two lines in the upper portion, double strokes with numeral sign 1 and the word *nahī*, possibly for *sahī*. Of the 16 lines, 9 lines are engraved in the right portion of the plate while rest in the left portion. There are two more lines engraved on the reverse side possibly mentioning '*arā koū maujā hanā hovā*'. The language of the inscription is Hindi influenced by local dialects and the script is Nāgarī. The seal in four lines mentions '*jāna hai sau māna hai nā māna hai sau jāna hai*' which became the royal message after the *guru* Mahāprabhu Prāṇanātha gave this message to Mahārājā Chhatrasāla. It records the government of *mahārājādhirāja-mhārājā* Chhatrasāla (C.E. 1649-1731), *sanada* of the donation of twenty-five Mahuā trees in Dharohī (modern Dhamorā village) by the government and transgressing the order will be punishable, and copper-plate issuing date. The titles used for

Chhatrasāla are *mahārājādhirāja*, *mahārāja* and *rājā* who had established a large state in Bundelkhanda. After invading over Pannā and defeating the Gauḍa ruler in c. C.E. 1675 he established capital in Pannā but his military encamped at Maū and ruled from Maū-Mahebā probably for that reason the inscription under study records Maū as the issuing place. He died in Maū on 4th December 1731 where his memorials exist.

TEXT

(Pl.16)

1. श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री महाराजा
2. श्री राजा छत्रसाल जू देव की स-
3. रकार तैस सनधकरिदई पं श्री
4. चौवे गंगाराम पनमेसुरय आ-
5. चार्ज कौ येते मौजे षरोही मै हुक-
6. म पटिया 2 दोउ अरु महुवा पेडे
7. 25 सरकार तै पाए खाए ज-
8. र कोऊ तकरार नाकरै अर-
9. तकरार करै सो
10. द्रोही करा
11. तराकौ
12. कातकव
13. सुदि 4 सं-
14. वत् 1759
15. मुकम म-
16. ऊ

XIV. Chhatarpur Stone Inscription of the time of Chhatrasāla: V.S. 1772, Śaka 1637

The stone bearing the inscription was given to the Museum by Surendra Jain of district headquarters Chhatarpur. It consists of 5 lines written in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language. The date is given in both, Vikrama and Śaka Saṁvat as 1772 and 1637 subsequently followed by Āshāḍha-sudi 8, Monday. It begins with the adoration to lord Gaṇeśa. The

purpose of the inscription is to record the construction of a well. It mentions the names of the king Chhatrasāla, his son *divāna* Hiradeśāha (C.E. 1731-1739), and his flunkey Rāi. The well was constructed or renovated by Ramanasimha and the writer of the inscription was Viṭhala. According to the deed of Chhatrasāla after his death the territory was divided in three parts and Hiradeśāha became the ruler of Pannā region.

TEXT

(PL.17)

1. श्री गनेश जू संवत् 1772 साके 1637 अष(षा)ढ सुहि(दि)
2. 8 सोमे श्री पातिसाहि करकसाहि श्री राजास्छ-
3. त्रसाल जू राज्य ताके सुत श्री दिवाल(न) हिरदेशाहि जू ति-
4. नके सेवकएः भूपति राइ कुवा सिधकाणा रमनसिंहो
5. ले वीठल सुभमस्तु

XV. Gaḍhakuṇḍāra Stone Inscription of the time of Śatrujīta Bahādura: Saṁvat 1847

The stone bearing the inscription was discovered from the village Kuḍāra. There are 9 lines of writing engraved between the line borders. The language is Hindi written in Nāgarī characters. The date of the inscription is Saṁvat 1847, Jeṭha-sudi 10 and Saturday. It begins with the mention of place name Kuḍāra (Gaḍhakuṇḍāra) situated in the Nivāḍī *tehasila* of the district Tikamagarh in Madhya Pradesh State. Thereafter records the names of *mahārājādhirāja-mahārāja-rajārājā* Śatrujīta Bahādura, a Bundelā ruler of Datīā (C.E. 1762-1801). During his visit to Kuḍāra he observed the fort, well and garden and renovated the old wells and garden under the supervision of *Paṇḍita* Rāmadāsa, and planted a new garden near the well. It is interesting to note that ten Bundelā rulers ruled from Kuḍāra between C.E. 1251-1531 and tenth ruler namely Rudrapratāpa shifted to Orachhā and elevated it as capital. At the time of the visit of the Museum the stone slab bearing the inscription under discussion was preserved in the reserve collection.

TEXT

(PL.18)

1. कस्वा कुडारये श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री
2. महाराजा श्री रावराजा सत्र(शत्रु)जीत वहादु-
3. र जू देव कौ आइवौ भयौत्तहां पुरानैनिःइ
4. कुवा व वाग के नजर भए तापर किलेमज
5. कूर कथा विहारी श्री पंडित रामनाथ कौ
6. हुकम भयौ कै वा कुवा व वाग कौ जीर्णोधा-
7. रह क[र] तापर मुस्तिक हुकमु के कुवापुष पौदु
8. रहयौ वाग लगायौ ज(जे)ठ सुदि 10 संवत् 1887
9. सनै असकोस्वर्णिते

XVI. Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Lakshmanasimha: Saṁvat 1898

It consists 15 lines of writing, besides the seal and mentions *Rādhikesvara*, *śrī Rādhāvallabhajū* and the word *sahī*. Seal consists seven lines mentioning *Rādhāvallabhajā tavamānaprajai sidhamasādhato manakayadām sahita śrī Lakshmanasimhādhārīpa*. The date is given in the lines 12-13 as Saṁvat 1898 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 8, Sunday. It begins with *svasti* followed by the significance of the *śramaṇa* Gosvāmi Motilāla Kumjalāla and mentions that *mahārāja* Lakshmanasimha encamped in the village Kaparaganehā in the locality of Korigavā. Then it records the devotion for religion. The name of the writer is Vakasī Haridapāla.

TEXT

(PL.19)

1. स्वस्ति श्री महाकरुणैकेषु सर्वेषु जनोद्धार रतेषु सर्वेष्वरे-
2. षुवैच्छ्य वास्पदवू(पू) ज्येषु श्रीमत्सुसत्स श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री गो-
3. स्वामि मोतीलाल कुंजलाल जूका श्रंणः ॥ ॥ वाप्त मुनसेवक श्री
4. महाराजाधिराजात्मन श्री महाराज वाहु रावेद्र समसेरन गवल
5. दुर लक्ष्मणसिंह जू देव मौजे कोरिगवा गाउतु कपरगनेहा
6. टीकेते जो ॥०० ॥ पधारे ॥०० ॥ श्री बिंद्राबन माहें तिनके



Pl.1. Sati Pillar



Pl.2. Sati Pillar and Inscription



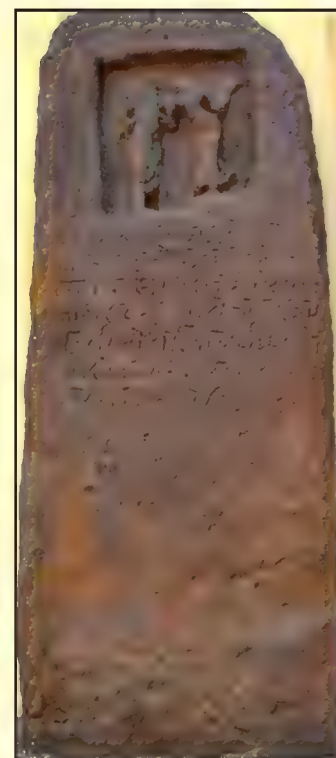
Pl.3. Sati Pillar and Inscription



Pl.4. Sati Pillar and Inscription



Pl.5. Sati Pillar and Inscription



Pl.6. Sati Pillar and Inscription



Pl.7. Sati Pillar and Inscription



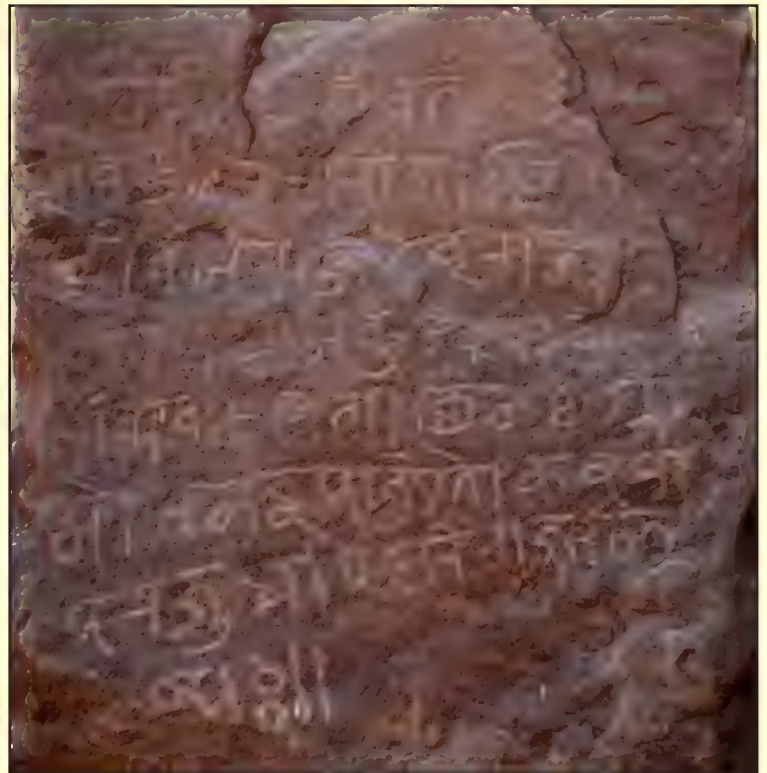
Pl.8. Sati Pillar



Pl.9. Sati Pillar



Pl.10. Hero Pillar and Inscription



Pl.11. Hero Inscription of the time of Virarāja: Samvat 14..



Pl.12. Fragmentary Sati Inscription of the time of Vīrarāja: Saṁvat 1478



Pl.13. Sati Inscription of the time of
Rāmachandra: Saṁvat 1627



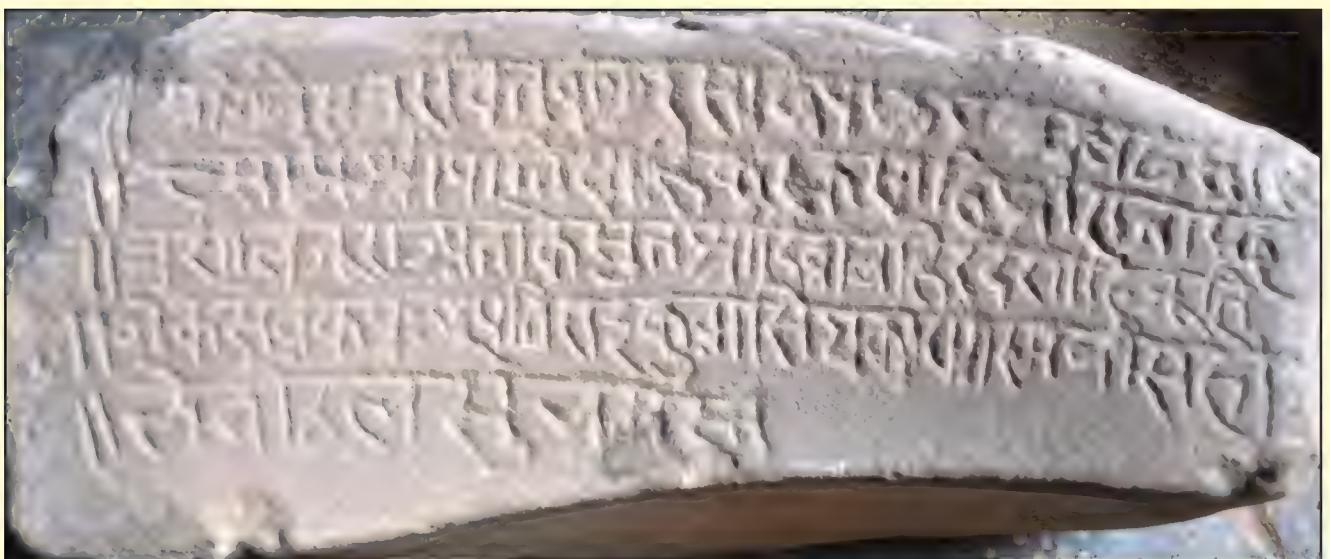
Pl.14. Stone Inscription of the time of
Virasiṁgha: Saṁvat 1675



Pl.15. Stone Inscription of the time of
Virasimha: V.S. 1681, Śaka 1546



16. Copper-plate Inscription of the time of
Chhatrasāla: Samvat 1759



Pl.17. Stone Inscription of the time of Chhatrasāla: V.S. 1772, Śaka 1637



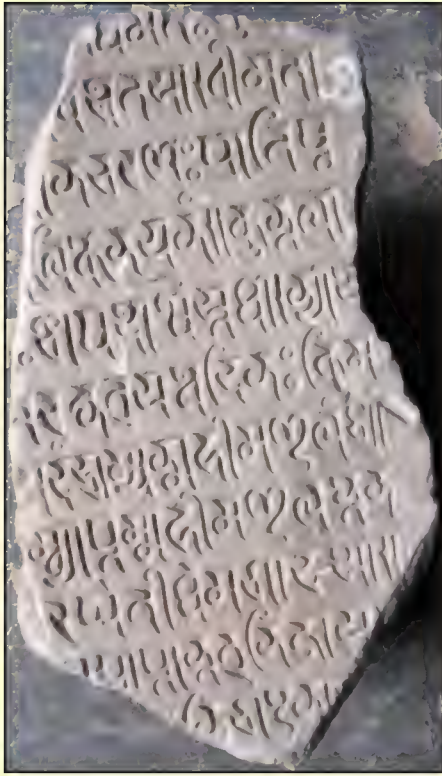
Pl.18. Stone Inscription of the time of Śatrujīta Bahādura: Samvat 1847



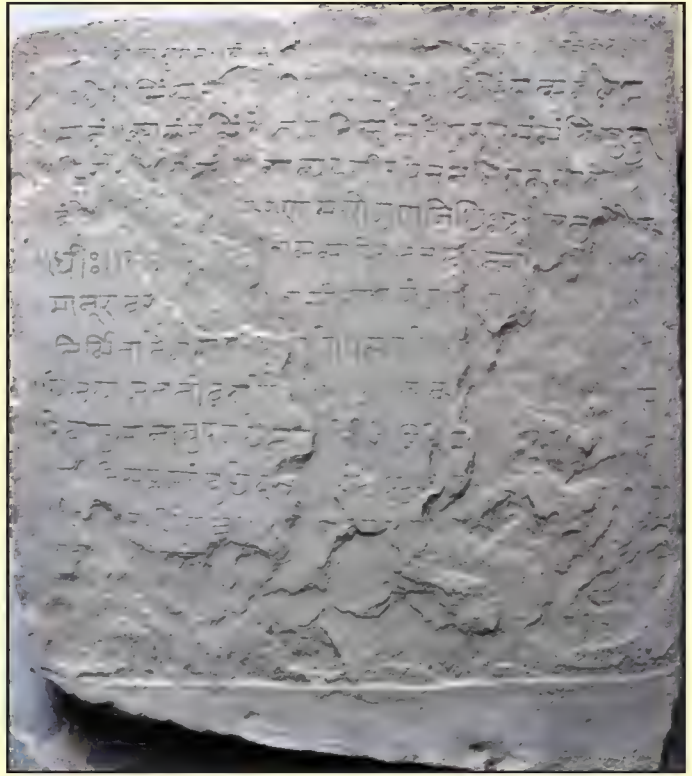
Pl.19. Copper-plate Inscription of the time of
Lakshmaṇasimha



Pl.20. Stone Inscription



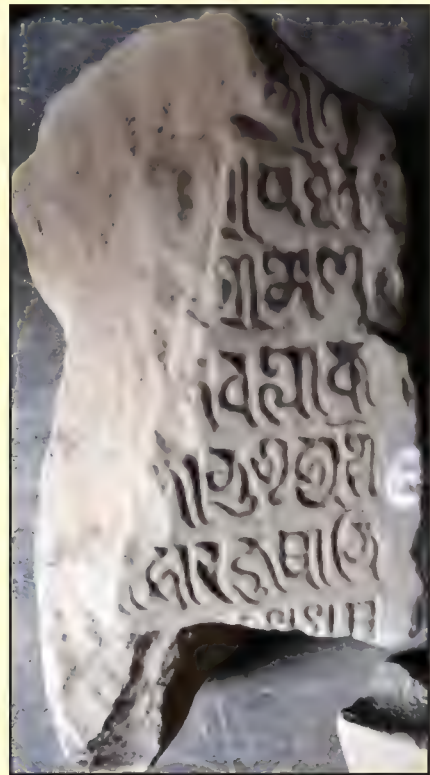
Pl.21. Fragmentary Stone Inscription



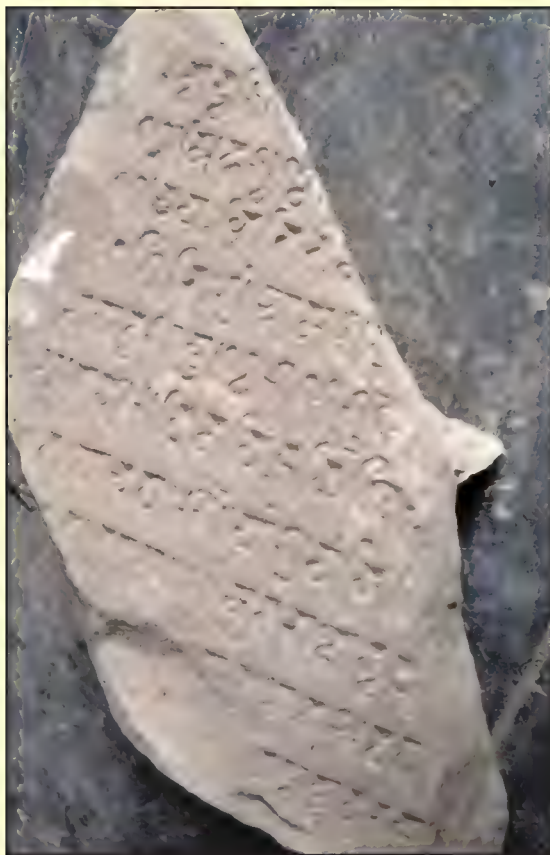
Pl.22. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of the time of Sāmāntasimha



Pl.23. Stone Inscription



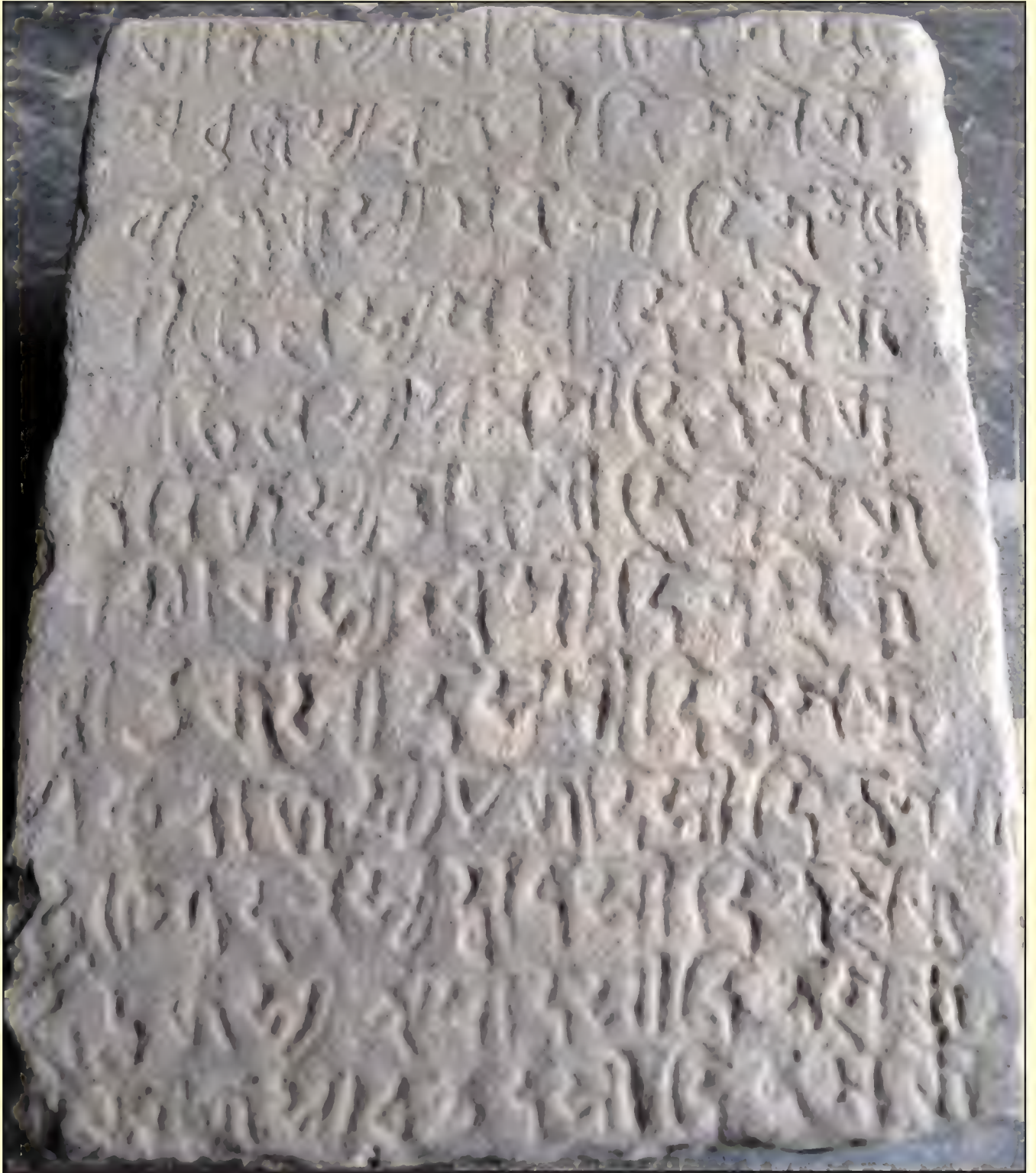
Pl.24. Fragmentary Stone Inscription



Pl.25. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of the time of Yuvarāja



Pl.26. Fragmentary Stone Inscription



Pl.27. Fragmentary Stone Inscription

राग

7. जोग सेवामा लगाइदीन सो सवदिन ॥००॥ जूत्तेषर्नमा
8. पागाउलात्र रहे पु(पु)स्तदरपु(पु)स्त जो कोउ दोइजनै के वंसमा होई
9. सौषाए रहै सा गाउ सजलसकाछुकसत्रन सडाज चतुःरर्तवा
10. उछिन्नकै कै ॥००॥ कां चढाइदीन सो कवह काउनुजाहि
11. मनाहो 2 आगे पीछे जो कोऊ कौनिऊ वात्तकेषूटकरे तौहरि
12. गुरुकाद्रोही होइतै करपाट लिषिदीन श्रावण वदि 8 रवौ
13. संवत् 1898 के लिषा श्री वकसी हरिदपाल नकहंदकत्त
14. रदापिले मोकामरी नागदेवग कै जिमीलां गिरही वेनालिहि
15. नते अवेजवा गाउदीन

XVII. Stone Inscription

There are 13 lines of writing. The letters were engraved very vaguely so it is not easy to read them. It records the religious activities performed by *bhaṭṭāraka Paṇḍita Kālayā*.

TEXT

(Pl.20)

1. मनसतायु सप्ताभ -----
2. नमः कल्याण संतान वन्दब्राघवाप -----
3. जुगजुगत्यातं जगयुद्धमंत्रव श्री राजा -----
4. तद्विद्याधिपतिस्तयेदितमत्तै वृध्यो गुरोनांत्व दीत्तव ---
5. मुदमत्तुं महः ॥ आश्रीन्वमनुयदुदिण्यत्पा -----
6. धर्मरतावढिलुतियमात्यनितियम -----
7. सुत्तेविसष्यश्रियाशुभ्रांय यजगंढयवचविधि ----
8. यमभूसुध्योती सदोय चिलगोनास्वथ -----
9. जमविढमैक वंधुस्यदारदिस्वायनांदितं -----
10. त्वा स्वयंदासानांधनराधियाण दानात्यस ----
11. चयांधुपुष्पधूमनैवेत्यदीधौ सज्जुक्षमिति -----
12. दितादिपलतयोधानेस्य -----

13. सुभअसुभयदि भट्टारकः पं कालयानाम

XVIII. Stone Inscription

In 11 lines inscription records names of the members of Vahula's and other families. It is fascinating to note that some of the names end with *gana*.

TEXT

(Pl.21)

1. जसुहदगुत्र बहुल पुत्र
2. श्री उत्त्यकु पुत्रे ठा मेणपगे कूर्य
3. पुत्र पसुपति । पसुपती
4. प्रकर पुत्रास्त कीजक्षितिभामह
5. संकर पुत्र अहाल । अहि-
6. लकर पुत्र भेजगण ।
7. भेवुगण । तदगण जयश्री
8. पतिनी उभइ । भउगणक रुदु
9. वुहरगण । रुदुकर पुत्रयो
10. दुकिः । सुधि अवचिजः । कुवि
11. भउ गुरविः । भहु ॥ रहस्यण ॥

XIX. Fragmentary Orachhā Stone Inscription of the time of Sāmantasimha

The stone bearing the inscription was discovered from Orachhā is of fragmentary nature due to chipping in the stone surface so it is not possible to give the entire text of 16 lines and specify the purpose of the inscription. It is written in Nāgarī characters. It is fascinating to note that the letter *da* of *datta* in line 6 was left at the time of engraving and added at the time of correction in small form above the letter *ta*. At the time of the visit of Museum the stone bearing the inscription was preserved in the reserve collection. It begins with the adoration to Gaṇeśa followed by the names of the poet Gajādhara Dubey, then mentions three kings of Orachhā named Udyotasimha (C.E. 1684-1736), Prithvisimha (C.E. 1736-1752) and Sāmantasimha (C.E. 1752-1765). It is well-known that after the death of *mahārāja* Jasavantasimha of Orachhā, queen Amarakumārī adopted Udyotasimha, the *jāgiradāra* of Baḍonī Airachha and grandson of *divāna* Haradaula and enthroned him as the king of

Orachhā. His sons, Devisimha and Raṇadhīrasimha, died during the rule of his father so his grandson, Prithvisimha became the ruler after Udyotasimha. His only son Amarasimha died while hunting the lion so his grandson Sāmantasimha became his successor. The name of the minister Duddhirāya is also recorded. The date of the inscription is not clear, however, it was written in the reign of Sāmantasimha and might belonged to the sixth decade of the eighteenth century.

TEXT

(Pl.22)

1. [श्री ग]णेशाय नमः ॥ द्वीजु बु — दुवे गजाधर जू के कृत श्लोक
2. उद्योतसिंहात्पृथिवी[सिंगजहं]धेर्वसिंहात्समकाज
3. मानं ॥ सामंतसिंहो नृपतिस्तुमने गुरूपमं मंत्रिसुदु-
4. द्विराय — सीद्धोस्वव्य हमीरपत्तनभियकू कायस्थ
5. वंशे — करुणामयो गुणनिधिः श्रीमानुहद्वैदः-
6. धीः ॥ त — वाम साहि रभदत्तस्मान्मणी —
7. मानूरावसु — त्य सीत्पारव्यां गत — वार्थि — ॥1
8. निर्मितातेन सापीय मधोपम पयोछ —
9. ये भूयाज्जननी वसुगौ — ॥3 ॥ ककु — सु-
10. रेवा सुभानावुदगयेन ग — वैशै शिरेम — ज-
11. ग — ति सप्तम्यां बुधेदस्त — रभ्य शुभ — णिना
12. थि — सर्गितात्र ॥4 ॥ — रया —
13. राज —
14. —
15. —
16. — ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

XX. Fragmentary Stone Inscription

Only the right portion of the big inscription is now available which at the moment consists of 11 lines. Due to its fragmentary nature it is not possible to know the substance and other details of the inscription. At the time of the visit of the Museum it was preserved in the reserve collection.

TEXT

(Pl.23)

1. — वमतु —
2. — धभेतसा । धीमता
3. — न चरणः प्रातिष्ठ
4. — लिके नयनं ॥ कुन्तला
5. — : शेषदोषैस्तथा । न्याये
6. — रत्नत्रयवेदिनः किम
7. — मदंभ्राम्यन्महीमण्डलं श्री
8. — म्ध्याप्तम्महीमण्डलन्तेन
9. — रघर्त्तार्थमगादसौ ॥
10. — प्राप्तान्तत्र निजायु —
11. — निगडेना —

XXI. Fragmentary Stone Inscription

Only the right portion of the big inscription is now available which consists 7 lines. At the time of the visit of the Museum it was preserved in the reserve collection.

TEXT

(Pl.24)

1. — नीत
2. — पव्वेत
3. — ग्रामेण
4. — विलोक
5. — नुगृह्यसै
6. — हारजुषानि
7. — शष

XXII. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of the time of Yuvarāja

Only the left portion of the big inscription is now available which consists 10 lines. The name of the king Yuvarāja is obvious in line 8 of the inscription. At the time of the visit of the Museum it was preserved in the reserve collection.

TEXT

(Pl.25)

1. त्वाद्दशि —————
2. णामिह शृण्व —————
3. ण । ययः क्षितितल —————
4. ण गिरिः श्री सोमेश[म्भु] ———
5. येस्त्रद्व शास्त्राण्य गणगुण ———
6. शगुना ॥ त्रिजलिदनिदिण ———
7. — ता पादपः । शौर्याश्चर्यानि —
8. — ॥ श्री युवराजो नृप ———
9. — म जसेदप्प —————
10. — उप्वस्ह दरसनि ———

2. मधुकस्य चतुर्थी दिनमेकं
3. वाजुकस्य पंचमी दिनमेकं
4. रीहिलस्य षष्ठी दिनमेकं
5. पाहिलस्य सप्तमी दिनमेकं
6. हरिकस्य अष्टमी दिनमेकं
7. रखाकस्य नवमी दिनमेकं
8. वाउंकस्य दसमी दिनमेकं
9. वछराकस्य एकादसी दिनमेकं
10. दामोदरस्य द्वादसी दिनमेकं
11. चंद्रकस्यं त्रयोदसी दिनमेकं
12. — कस्य चतुर्दसी दिनमेकं

XXIII. Fragmentary Stone Inscription

At present only 5 lines of writing are visible which records the names of the family members of Jitā. His son was Gāge whose son named Pasupati. Pasupati had a son namely Nāthahari. The name of Nāthahari's son and other details are now missing because of the lower portion is fixed in the concrete pedestal.

TEXT

(Pl.26)

1. आस्वहर गुरुउ
2. जीचा(ता) ज्जीताका(क)र पुतु गा-
3. गे । गागेकर पुतु पसु-
4. पति । पसुपतिकर पु-
5. तु न(ना)थहरि⁷ । नाथह-

XXIV. Fragmentary Stone Inscription

The upper and lower portion of the inscription is now missing and remaining 12 lines record the activities performed from third day to the fourteenth day of the month.

TEXT

(Pl.27)

1. का नमस्या तृतियाभितपा

Acknowledgement :

During my visit to the Museum my senior colleague R. A. Sharma and Curator of the Museum Naresh Kumar Pathak cooperated and helped me a lot for that I am thankful to them.

Notes and References :

1. For details see, Settar, S. and Sontheimer, Gunther D. (ed.), *Memorial Stones: a study of their origin, significance and variety*, 1982, Karnatak University; Singh, A.K., "Some Hero Stones of Gwalior and their Inscriptions", *Prāgdhārā*, 5 (1994-95), pp.137-142.
2. Singh, Arvind K., "Sati Pillars of Bhanagadh and their Inscriptions", *Prāgdhārā*, 9 (1998-99), pp. 137-143.
3. Expressed by Symbol.
4. Expressed by Symbol.
5. Denoted by Symbol.
6. Jain, R.K., "Bundela Genealogy and Legends: The Past of an Indigenous Ruling group of Central India" in J. A. M. Beattie and other (ed.) *Studies in Social Anthropology*, Oxford, 1975, pp.240-41.
7. The reading of the second letter *tha* of the name Nāthahari is doubtful which is formed by two circles one above the other.



महाराजा हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य : एक विस्मृत अग्रदूत

गुंजन अग्रवाल *

प्रस्तावना

महाराजा हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, भारतीय इतिहास के विस्मृत उन चुनिन्दा लोगों में परिगणित हैं जिन्होंने इतिहास की धारा मोड़कर रख दी थी। हिंदू-सम्राट् हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, पृथ्वीराज चौहान (1179-1192) के बाद इस्लामी शासनकाल के मध्य सम्भवतः दिल्ली के एकमात्र या अन्तिम हिंदू-सम्राट् हुए। वह विद्युत की भाँति चमके और देदीप्यमान हुए। उन्होंने अलवर (राजस्थान) के बिल्कुल साधारण-से घर में जन्म लेकर एक व्यापारी, माप-तौल अधिकारी, ‘दरोगा-ए-डाक चौकी’, ‘वज़ीर’ (प्रधानमंत्री) और सेनापति होते हुए दिल्ली के तख्त पर राज किया और अपने अपार पराक्रम एवं बाइस युद्धों में विजयी रहकर ‘विक्रमादित्य’ की उपाधि धारण की। यह वह समय था जब मुग़ल एवं अफगान— दोनों ही दिल्ली पर राज्य के लिए संघर्षरत थे। यद्यपि हेमचन्द्र अधिक समय तक शासन न कर सके, तथापि इसे भारतीय इतिहास की एक महत्वपूर्ण घटना अवश्य कहा जायेगा।¹ हेमचन्द्र की तूफानी विजयों के कारण कई इतिहासकारों ने उनको ‘मध्यकालीन भारत का नेपोलियन’ कहा है।

प्रसिद्ध इतिहासकार श्री भगवतशरण उपाध्याय (1910-1982) ने लिखा है, ‘यशोवर्मन के प्रायः हजार वर्ष पश्चात् विदेशियों को बहिर्गत करने का एक प्रयास और हुआ। वह था रेवाड़ी (हरियाणा का गुड़गाँव ज़िले) के भृगुवंशीय हेमचन्द्र का प्रयास।

सोलहवीं शती ईसवी के मध्य में हेमचन्द्र को मुसलमान लेखकों ने ‘हेमू’ नाम से लिखा है, शायद इसी कारण कि वे उसकी राजनैतिक और सामरिक योग्यता से चिढ़े हुए थे। वे राजपूतों को छोड़ हिंदुओं में किसी और वर्ण को सामरिक श्रेय देने को तैयार न थे। आधुनिक भार्गव लोग हेमचन्द्र को अपना पूर्वज मानते और अपने को ब्राह्मण कहते हैं। इनका गोत्र निस्सन्देह भृगु का है और ये ब्राह्मण हो सकते हैं, यद्यपि पाणिनि के सूत्र ‘विद्यायोनिसंबंधौ’ के अनुसार गुरु और पिता— दोनों के नाम पर गोत्र बन सकते थे। मुसलमानों ने हेमचन्द्र को, जो ‘बकाल’ (बनिया) लिखा है, उसका कारण सम्भवतः उनका वैमनस्य था। यह सम्भव है कि आज ही की भाँति चूँकि भार्गव व्यापार करने लगे थे, मुसलमानों को उनके बनिया होने का भ्रम हो गया हो।’^{2,3,4,5,6}

जन्म तथा प्रारम्भिक जीवन

हेमचन्द्र, राय जयपाल के पौत्र और राय पूरणदास (लाला पूरणमल) के पुत्र थे। इनका जन्म आश्विन शुक्ल विजयदशमी, मंगलवार, कलियुगाब्द 4603, वि०सं० 1556, तदनुसार 02 अक्टूबर, 1501 ई० को अलवर (राजस्थान) ज़िले के मछेरी नामक गाँव में हुआ था। इनके पिता पहले पौरोहित्य कार्य करते थे, किन्तु बाद में मुग़लों के द्वारा पुरोहितों को परेशान करने के कारण कुतुबपुर, रेवाड़ी में आकर नमक का व्यवसाय करने लगे।

हेमचन्द्र की शिक्षा रेवाड़ी में आरम्भ हुई। उन्होंने संस्कृत, हिंदी, फ़ारसी, अरबी तथा गणित के अतिरिक्त घुड़सवारी में भी महारत हासिल की। साथ ही पिता के नये व्यवसाय में अपना योगदान देना शुरू कर दिया। अल्पायु से ही हेमचन्द्र, शेरशाह सूरी (1540-1545) के लश्कर को अनाज एवं बन्दूक चलाने में प्रयोग होनेवाले प्रमुख तत्त्व पोटेशियम नाइट्रेट अर्थात् शोरा उपलब्ध कराने के व्यवसाय में पिताजी के साथ हो लिए थे। इसी बारूद के प्रयोग के बल पर शेरशाह सूरी ने हुमायूँ (1531-1540 एवं 1555-1556) को 17 मई, 1540 ई० को कन्नौज (बिलग्राम) के युद्ध में हराकर काबुल लौट जाने पर विवश कर

* पूर्व संपादक, ‘पगडंडी’ (हिंदी त्रैमासिकी, जमुई); संपादक, ‘पटना परिक्रमा’ (हिंदी-वार्षिकी, पटना); पूर्व सह-संपादक, ‘इतिहास दर्पण’ (अर्द्धवार्षिक शोध-पत्रिका, दिल्ली); शोध-सहायक, भारतीय पुराण-अध्ययन-संस्थान, अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना, बाबा साहेब आपटे स्मृति-भवन, ‘केशव-कुञ्ज’, झण्डेवाला, नयी दिल्ली-110 055; मो०: 09654669293; ई-मेल : gunjanagrawala@gmail.com

दिया था। हेमचन्द्र ने उसी समय रेवाड़ी में धातु से विभिन्न तरह के हथियार बनाने के काम की नींव रखी, जो आज भी वहाँ पीतल, ताँबा, इस्पात के बर्तन आदि बनाने के काम के रूप में जारी है।

दिनांक 22 मई, 1545 ई० को शेरशाह सूरी की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके पुत्र ज़लाल ख़ाँ ने इस्लामशाह सूरी के नाम से गद्दी सम्भाली और 1545 से 1554 तक दिल्ली पर शासन किया। पंजाब से बंगाल तक फैले हुए राज्य में अनेक अफगान-सरदारों ने मौके का लाभ उठाकर बगावत करनी चाही, लेकिन इस्लामशाह ने सबको पराजित कर दिया। उसने यह भी महसूस किया कि शासन की सुव्यवस्था के लिए हिंदू-कर्मचारियों और सैनिकों की सहायता लेना आवश्यक हो गया है। अतः उसने अपनी सेना में कई राजपूतों, जाटों आदि को भर्ती किया। प्रशासनिक कामकाज के लिए भी उसने कई कर्मचारियों की नियुक्ति की। ऐसे समय दिल्ली के एक प्रभावशाली सरकारी व्यापारी ने इस्लाम शाह को हेमचन्द्र के बारे में बताया और उसे हेमचन्द्र को महत्वपूर्ण प्रशासनिक कार्य सौंपने की सलाह दी। इस्लामशाह ने व्यापारी की सिफारिश पर हेमचन्द्र को दिल्ली का बाज़ार-अधीक्षक नियुक्त किया। थोड़े ही समय में उनकी पदोन्नति करके उनको खाद्य एवं आपूर्ति विभाग का अधीक्षक बना दिया।⁷ हेमचन्द्र ने अपनी योग्यता सिद्ध की और इस्लामशाह के विश्वासपात्र बन गये। हेमचन्द्र बड़े सच्चरित्र और योग्य पुरुष थे। इस्लामशाह उनसे हर मसले पर राय लेने लगा, हेमचन्द्र के काम से प्रसन्न होकर उसने हेमचन्द्र को 'दरोगा-ए-डाक चौकी' (chief of intelligence) के महत्वपूर्ण पद पर आसीन कर दिया।⁸

हेमचन्द्र ने इस पदभार का दायित्व अत्यन्त कुशलता, दूरदर्शिता एवं कर्तव्यपरायणता से निभाया। इस्लामशाह के अन्य सभी प्रमुख पदाधिकारी एवं सैन्य अधिकारी अफगान थे। उन सबके बीच अपनी प्रतिष्ठा का सिक्का जमाने में हेमचन्द्र आश्चर्यजनक रूप से सफल रहे। सैन्य गतिविधियों, प्रशासन और जनसामान्य के बीच एक अविच्छिन्न सम्पर्क-सेतु बनाकर वह आम नागरिक से लेकर सुल्तान तक की प्रशंसा के पात्र बन गये।⁹ अनेक अफगान-सरदारों की अनिच्छा के बावजूद इस्लामशाह ने हेमचन्द्र को छः हज़ार सवारों की मुख्तियारी दी और 'अमीर' का खिताब दिया।¹⁰

दिनांक 22 नवम्बर, 1554 को ग्वालियर में अपनी मृत्यु से पूर्व इस्लामशाह ने पंजाब से हेमचन्द्र को बुलाकर उनको दिल्ली की सैनिक और प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था सौंप दी।¹¹ इस्लामशाह की मृत्यु के बाद उसका बारह-वर्षीय पुत्र फिरोज़शाह सूरी गद्दी पर बैठा, किन्तु वह कुछ ही महीने शासन कर सका। 1554 में ही उसे शेरशाह के भतीजे मुहम्मद मुबारिज़ ख़ान ने मौत के घाट उतार दिया और स्वयं आदिलशाह सूरी के नाम से 1554 से 1555 तक शासन किया।

आदिलशाह एक घोर विलासी और लम्पट शासक था और शासन की बिल्कुल भी परवाह नहीं करता था। फलस्वरूप अनेक अफगान-अधिकारियों ने उसके विरुद्ध बगावत शुरू कर दी। विद्रोह को दबाने और राजस्व-वसूली के लिए आदिलशाह ने हेमचन्द्र को न केवल अपना 'वज़ीर' (प्रधानमंत्री) बनाया, वरन् अफगान-सेना का सेनापति भी नियुक्त कर दिया। इस प्रकार हेमचन्द्र पर शासन का भार डालकर आदिलशाह ने चुनार (मिर्जापुर के पास) की राह पकड़ी। इस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण अफगान-शासन हेमचन्द्र के हाथ में आ गया। अवसर पाकर हेमचन्द्र ने हिंदू-राज्य का स्वप्न देखा।¹²

शासन की बागडोर हाथ में आते ही हेमचन्द्र ने कर न चुकानेवाले विद्रोही अफगान-सरदारों को बुरी तरह कुचलकर रख दिया। इब्राहिम ख़ान, सुल्तान मुहम्मद ख़ान, ताज करनी, रख ख़ान नूरानी-जैसे अनेक प्रबल विद्रोहियों को युद्ध में परास्त किया और एक-एक करके सभी को मौत के घाट उतार दिया। इस प्रकार हेमचन्द्र ने अपने सारे प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों को क्रमशः पराजितकर शान्त कर दिया। यद्यपि हेमचन्द्र का जन्म ब्राह्मण-कुल में हुआ और उनका पालन-पोषण भी पूरे धर्मिक तरीके से हुआ, तथापि वह सभी धर्मों को समान मानते थे, इसीलिए उसके सेना के अफगान-अधिकारी भी उनका पूरा सम्मान करते थे और इसलिए भी क्योंकि वह एक कुशल सेनानायक सिद्ध हो चुके थे।

हुमायूँ, जो पहले 1540 ई० में शेरशाह सूरी द्वारा हराकर काबुल खदेड़ दिया गया था, ने दुबारा हमला करके शेरशाह सूरी के भाई सिकन्दर सूरी को पंजाब में हराकर जुलाई, 1555 ई० में दिल्ली पर अधिकार कर लिया। उस समय अफगान सरदार आपस में ही संघर्षरत थे। उत्तर भारत, मध्य भारत, बिहार और बंगाल तक उन्होंने अपने झण्डे बुलन्द कर दिये। आदिलशाह के सबसे बड़े शत्रु इब्राहिम ख़ान ने कालपी में सिर उठा लिया था। तब आदिलशाह ने हेमचन्द्र को बड़ी सेना और पाँच सौ हाथी तथा तोपखाना देकर आगरा और दिल्ली की ओर भेजा। जब हेमचन्द्र कालपी पहुँचे, तब उन्होंने निश्चय कर लिया कि पहले इब्राहिम को समाप्त किया जाए। इसलिए उन्होंने शीघ्रता से उसकी ओर कूच किया। एक बहुत बड़ी लड़ाई हुई, जिसमें हेमचन्द्र विजयी हुए और इब्राहिम भागकर बयाना चला गया। हेमचन्द्र ने उनका पीछा किया और बयाना को घेर लिया। यह घेरा तीन महीने तक चलता रहा।¹³ तभी हेमचन्द्र को आदिलशाह का आदेश प्राप्त हुआ कि बंगाल के सूबेदार मोहम्मद ख़ान गोरिया (1545-1555) ने विद्रोह कर दिया है। तब हेमचन्द्र ने बंगाल की ओर कूच किया और आगरा से पन्द्रह कोस की दूरी पर छप्परघाट नामक गाँव के निकट मोहम्मद ख़ान गोरिया से लड़ा जिसमें मोहम्मद मारा गया।¹⁴ इसके बाद हेमचन्द्र ने बंगाल में अपने सूबेदार शाहबाज़ ख़ान को नियुक्त किया। इसके

लगभग छः महीने बाद (27 जनवरी, 1556 ई०) हुमायूँ की दिल्ली में मृत्यु हो गयी। हुमायूँ की मौत का समाचार सुनकर हेमचन्द्र ने समझ लिया कि अब हिंदू-राज्य के अपने स्वप्न को साकार करने का समय आ गया है।^{15,16,17}

हेमचन्द्र ने मुगल-साम्राज्य को उखाड़ फेंकने के लिए दिल्ली की ओर कूच किया। अफगान-साम्राज्य की पुनर्स्थापना का लोभ दिखाकर उन्होंने अफगान-सरदारों को मुगलों से न मिलने दिया, उनसे उन्हें भड़का रखा। ग्वालियर से निकलकर रास्ते में बंगाल, बिहार, पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश एवं मध्यप्रदेश की कई रियासतों को उन्होंने विजित किया। आगरे का मुगल-सूबेदार इस्कंदर खान उज्जबेक, हेमचन्द्र से युद्ध किए बिना ही मैदान छोड़ दिल्ली की ओर भाग खड़ा हुआ। इस प्रकार हेमचन्द्र ने आसानी से आगरे पर अधिकार कर लिया। इस तरह 1553-56 के मध्य हेमचन्द्र ने आदिलशाह के वज़ीर और सेनापति के रूप में पंजाब से बंगाल तक 22 युद्ध जीते।¹⁸ हेमचन्द्र का इटावा, कालपी और आगरा प्रान्तों पर अधिकार हो गया। ग्वालियर में उन्होंने हिंदुओं की भर्ती से अपनी सेना मज़बूत कर ली।

दिल्ली पर विजय और राज्यारोहण

दिनांक 06 अक्टूबर, 1556 ई० को हेमचन्द्र ने अपने सभी सेनाधिकारियों, अनेक पठान योद्धाओं, चालीस हज़ार घुड़सवारों, 51 बड़ी तोपों और 500 छोटी तोपों के साथ दिल्ली के कुतुब मीनार से पाँच मील दूर तुगलकाबाद में अपना डेरा जमाया। दिल्ली के सूबेदार तार्दी बेग खान ने हेमचन्द्र का मुक़ाबला करने का प्रयास किया, लेकिन अन्त में अपनी जान बचाकर युद्धस्थल से भाग खड़ा हुआ। इस युद्ध में लगभग 3 हज़ार मुगलों का सफ़ाया कर दिया गया। इस विजय से हेमचन्द्र के पास काफी धन, 1,000 अरबी घोड़े, लगभग 1,500 हाथी तथा एक विशाल सेना एकत्र हो गई थी। उन्होंने अफगान सेना की कुछ टुकड़ियों को प्रचुर धन देकर अपनी ओर कर लिया। अगले दिन (दिनांक 07 अक्टूबर, 1556 ई०, तदनुसार आश्विन कृष्ण दशमी, रविवार, कलियुगाब्द 4658, वि० सं० 1613) दिल्ली के पुराने क़िले में अफगान और हिंदू-सेनानायकों के सान्निध्य में पूर्ण हिंदू धार्मिक विधि से उनका राज्याभिषेक हुआ और उन्होंने प्राचीन काल के अनेक हिंदू-राजाओं की भाँति 'विक्रमादित्य' की उपाधि धारण की। अपने कौशल, साहस और पराक्रम के बल पर हेमचन्द्र अब 'हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य' के नाम से देश की शासन-सत्ता के सर्वोच्च शिखर पर आसीन थे। मुस्लिम शासन के लगभग 364 वर्ष बाद, पहली बार, कम समय के लिए ही सही, दिल्ली पर हिंदू-शासन स्थापित हुआ। डॉ० आशीर्वादीलाल श्रीवास्तव ने लिखा है : '350 वर्षों (1206-1556) के विदेशी शासन को देश से उखाड़ फेंकने और दिल्ली में स्वदेशी शासन को पुनः स्थापित करनेवाले हेमू के साहसपूर्ण प्रयत्न की जितनी प्रशंसा

की जाए, थोड़ी है।' ¹⁹ प्रसिद्ध इतिहासकार डॉ० सतीश चन्द्र मित्तल (जन्म : 1938 ई०) ने लिखा है : 'निस्सन्देह यह भारतीय इतिहास का स्वर्ण-दिवस था, जब एक विदेशी आक्रान्ता द्वारा स्थापित, परकीय सत्ता को उखाड़कर भारत में पुनः स्वकीय शासन स्थापित किया गया।' ²⁰ स्वातन्त्र्यवीर विनायक दामोदर सावरकर (1883-1966) ने लिखा है : 'हेमू जन्मतः हिंदू था। सुल्तान के शासनकाल में वह अपने पराक्रम से ऊपर चढ़ते-चढ़ते उच्चतम अधिकार के पद पर पहुँच गया, अपने हिंदू-धर्म को तनिक भी आँच न लाते हुए हिंदू के रूप में ही उसने उस दुर्बल सुल्तान की वज़ीरी पायी और सारी बादशाहत मुट्ठी में कर ली थी। किन्तु अब तो उसने खुलेआम हिंदुत्व का झण्डा फहरा दिया। सारी मुस्लिम सुल्तानशाही को मिटाकर हिंदू-साम्राज्य खड़ा कर दिया! फलतः कट्टर मुस्लिम जगत् में एक ही चिल्लाहट मच गयी कि "तोबा, तोबा ! इस्लामी सल्तनत डूब गयी और खालिस काफिरशाही आ गयी !" ²¹

इस अवसर पर हेमचन्द्र ने अपने नामवाले सिक्के जारी किए, सेना का प्रभावी पुनर्गठन किया और बिना किसी अफगान-सेनानायक को हटाए हिंदू-अधिकारियों को नियुक्त किया। उन्होंने अपने भाई जुझार राय को अजमेर का सूबेदार बनाकर भेज दिया तथा अपने भाँजे रमैया (रामचन्द्र राय) और भतीजे महीपाल राय को सेना में शामिल कर लिया। ²² अबुल फज़ल (1551-1602) के अनुसार हेमू काबुल पर हमले की तैयारी कर रहा था और उसने अपनी सेना में कई बदलाव किये।

पानीपत का द्वितीय युद्ध (05 नवम्बर, 1556 ई०)

जिस समय हुमायूँ की मृत्यु हुई (27 जनवरी, 1556 ई०), उस समय उसका पुत्र अकबर (1556-1605) 14 वर्ष का बालक मात्र था। पानीपत के युद्ध से पूर्व अकबर के कई सेनापति उसे हेमचन्द्र से युद्ध करने के लिए मना कर चुके थे तथापि अकबर के संरक्षक बैरम खान (1501-1561) ने अकबर को दिल्ली पर नियन्त्रण के लिए हेमचन्द्र से युद्ध करने के लिए प्रेरित किया। दिनांक 05 नवम्बर, 1556 ई० (कार्तिक कृष्ण नवमी, रविवार, कलियुगाब्द 4658, वि० सं० 1613, तदनुसार 2 मोहर्रम, 964 हिजरी) को युद्ध प्रारम्भ हुआ। इतिहास में यह युद्ध 'पानीपत के द्वितीय युद्ध' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। भय और सुरक्षा के विचार से अकबर और बैरम खान ने स्वयं इस युद्ध में भाग नहीं लिया और वे दोनों युद्धक्षेत्र से 8 मील की दूरी पर, सौधापुर गाँव के शिविर में रहे, किन्तु हेमचन्द्र ने स्वयं अपनी सेना का नेतृत्व किया।

भगवतशरण उपाध्याय ने लिखा है : 'यद्यपि (मुगल-सेना के) जीतने की आशा नहीं के बराबर थी और अकबर को काबुल भाग जाने की सलाह दी जाने लगी थी, फिर सामना हेमू का था जिसके नाम से मुगलों के देवता कूच कर जाते थे और जिसकी हरावल में बलिया, आरा के उन भोजपुरी वीरों की बहुतायत थी, जिन्होंने कुछ ही सालों पहले

शेरशाह के संचालन में बाबर के लड़ाकों के पैर उखाड़ दिए थे, उनके बादशाह हुमायूँ को दर-ब-दर फिरने को मजबूर किया था और राजपूताना की वीर-प्रसविनी भूमि को रौंद डाला था।²³

सम्राट हेमचन्द्र की सेना में कुल 1 लाख सैनिक थे, जिसमें 30,000 राजपूत तथा शेष अफगान पैदल तथा अश्वारोही थे। इसी के साथ ही लगभग 1,500 हाथी थे, जिनपर सवार योद्धा धनुर्धारी तथा बन्दूकधारी थे। हाथी भी सुरक्षाकवच धारण किए हुए थे। इसके विपरीत मुगल-सेना में कुल 20,000 अश्वारोही सैनिक ही थे।²⁴

हेमचन्द्र ने रास्ते से अपनी हरावल (अग्रिम टुकड़ी) को मुबारक खाँ और बहादुर खाँ के नेतृत्व में अपने तोपखाने की अधिकांश टुकड़ी के साथ मुगल-सेना का सामना करने के लिए पानीपत भेजा। अकबर की सेना की अग्रिम टुकड़ी का नेतृत्व अली कुली खान शायबानी ने किया। इस आरम्भिक मुठभेड़ में अकबर की सेना ने हेमू की इस टुकड़ी को कूटनीतिक चालों एवं साहसिक योजना के द्वारा पराजित कर दिया, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप हेमचन्द्र के सैनिक अपनी तोपों को छोड़कर मैदान से भाग गये।²⁵ तोपों के हाथ से निकल जाने से हेमचन्द्र को बहुत अधिक क्षति पहुँची। तब हेमचन्द्र अपने हाथियों के साथ आगे बढ़े और उन्होंने ऐसी दृढ़ता से मुगल-सेना पर आक्रमण किया कि मुगल-सेना का बायाँ पक्ष हिल उठा।²⁶ कुल मिलाकर मुगल-सेना दहशत में थी और हेमचन्द्र की विजय निश्चित थी। स्वयं हेमचन्द्र 'हवाई' नामक एक विशाल हाथी पर सवार होकर सेना का संचालन कर रहे थे। इसी समय हेमचन्द्र की सेना के दायें भाग का नेतृत्व कर रहे शाही खाँ काकर तथा सहयोगी भगवानदास युद्ध में काम आ गये जिससे सम्राट को भारी धक्का लगा।²⁷ परन्तु तभी ऐसी घटना घटी जिसने युद्ध का चित्र बदलकर रख दिया। हेमचन्द्र अपने हाथी पर खड़े जो तीरों की मार कर रहे थे, स्वयं शत्रुओं की अनेक तीरों के निशाने पर थे। अब तक उन्हें अनेक घाव लग चुके थे। सहसा एक तीर उनकी आँख में आ लगा, दूसरा उनके हाथी की आँख में।^{28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34}

इस परिस्थिति में भी सम्राट हेमचन्द्र ने वीरता का परिचय देते हुए तीर निकालकर एक साफे के द्वारा आँख पर पट्टी बाँध ली और युद्ध जारी रखा। किन्तु घाव गहरा होने के कारण वह मूर्च्छित होकर हौदे में गिर पड़े। जैसे ही हेमचन्द्र के गिरने की सूचना उनके सैनिकों के मिली, वैसे ही वे बुरी तरह भयभीत होकर युद्धक्षेत्र से भाग खड़े हुए। इस प्रकार अकबर को एक निर्णयात्मक सफलता प्राप्त हो गयी।³⁵

सल्लनतकालीन इतिहासकार ख्वाज़ा निज़ामुद्दीन अहमद (1551-1621) ने लिखा है : जब हेमू हौदे में गिर पड़ा और उसका महावत³⁶ भी मारा गया तो हेमू का हाथी जंगल की ओर भाग गया। तब ऐसा हुआ कि शाह कुली खाँ को वह हाथी मिल गया और उसने अपना महावत उसपर चढ़ा दिया। तब महावत ने देखा कि हौदे में एक आदमी

मरा हुआ पड़ा है और जब उसे भली-भाँति देखा गया तो सिद्ध हुआ कि वह स्वयं हेमू है। शाह कुली खाँ समझ गया कि उसको एक महत्त्वपूर्ण वस्तु मिली है। उसने हाथी चलाया और उन अनेक लोगों के साथ, जो रणभूमि में पकड़े गए थे, बादशाह के सम्मुख ले गया।³⁷

अल्-बदायूनी (1540-1615), अबुल फज़ल (1551-1602) और अबुल फैज़ी (1547-1595) लिखते हैं कि जब बैरम खान के कहने पर बादशाह अपने हाथ से हेमू को मारने के लिए राजी नहीं हुआ तो स्वयं बैरम खान ने उसको मारा। बदायूनी के अनुसार बैरम खान ने कहा, यह आपका प्रथम युद्ध (गजद) है, इस काफिर पर अपनी तलवार आजमाओ। यह बड़ा पुण्य कार्य होगा। अकबर ने उत्तर दिया, यह मरा हुआ ही है। इसमें क्या दम है ? मैं इस पर कैसे प्रहार करूँ ? यदि इसमें कुछ चेतना और शक्ति होती तो मैं अपनी तलवार आजमाता। तब सबकी विद्यमानता में बैरम खान ने उसके टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर डाले। हेमू का सिर काबुल और उसका धड़ दिल्ली भेजा गया और वहाँ दरवाजों पर लटकाया गया।³⁸

सर विन्सेन्ट आर्थर स्मिथ (Sir Vincent Arthur Smith : 1843-1920) ने लिखा है : 'हाथी सहित हेमचन्द्र को अकबर तथा बैरम खान के समक्ष पेश किया गया। अकबर ने अपनी तलवार से हेमू के गले पर प्रहार किया। पास ही खड़े लोगों ने भी खून से लथपथ शव में अपनी तलवारें घोंप दीं। हेमू का कटा सिर प्रदर्शन के लिए काबुल भेजा गया तथा उसका धड़ दिल्ली के एक दरवाजे पर लटका दिया गया। यह सरकारी मनगढ़न्त कथा कि जब अकबर के संरक्षक बैरम खान ने उसे निर्देश दिया कि वह शत्रु के अर्ध-मूर्च्छित शरीर पर तलवार से प्रहार करके 'गाज़ी' की उपाधि प्राप्त करे, तो असहाय बन्दी के प्रति अकबर में कारुणिक भावना उत्पन्न हो गई, जिससे उत्प्रेरित होकर उसने हेमू के शरीर पर तलवार का वार करने से इनकार कर दिया—यह दरबारी चाटुकारों की मनगढ़न्त कहानी प्रतीत होती है।'³⁹

दिल्ली पहुँचकर अकबर ने कल्ले-आम करवाया ताकि लोगों में भय का संचार हो और वे दोबारा विद्रोह का साहस न कर सकें। हेमचन्द्र के सैनिकों और भार्गवों के हज़ारों कटे हुए सिरों का बुर्ज बनाया गया, जैसा कि सभी पूर्ववर्ती सुल्तान करते आये थे।⁴⁰ इतना ही नहीं, ज़श्न-ए-फतह के लिए हेमचन्द्र का एक विशाल पुतला बनवाया गया और उसमें बारूद भरी गई और ज़बर्दस्त आतिशबाज़ी के साथ उस पुतले में आग लगाई गयी।⁴¹

इस सफलता के तुरन्त बाद ही अकबर ने आगरे को भी अपने अधिकार में कर लिया और अपने सेनापतियों को भेजकर हेमू की सम्पत्ति को ज़ब्त करने का आदेश दिया तथा मुगलों का हेमचन्द्र के नगर मेवात पर भी अधिकार हो गया। इसके साथ ही बैरम खान ने हेमचन्द्र के सभी सहयोगियों का कल्लेआम करने का निश्चय किया।

फलस्वरूप हेमचन्द्र के समर्थक अफगान अमीर और सामन्त या तो मारे गए या फिर दूर-दराज के ठिकानों की ओर भाग गये या उन्होंने अकबर की अधीनता स्वीकार कर ली।⁴² बैरम खान के निर्देश पर उसके सिपहसालार नासिर-उल्-मुल्क मौलाना पीर मुहम्मद खान शेरवानी (मृत्यु : 1562 ई०) ने हेमचन्द्र के पिता राय पूर्णदास को बन्दी बना लिया और उनके टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर डाले।^{43,44} फिर बैरम खान ने हेमचन्द्र के समस्त वंशधरों यानि सम्पूर्ण भार्गव कुल को नष्ट करने का निश्चय किया। अलवर, रेवाड़ी, नारनौल, आनौड़ आदि क्षेत्रों में बसे हुए 'दूसर वैश्य' कहलाए जानेवाले भार्गवजनों को चुन-चुनकर बन्दी बनाया गया।⁴⁵ यह बात इतिहास में कुछ इस तरह कही जाती है—

‘साह कहीं बनियन को लाओ, मारो सबन जहाँ लगि पावो ।
आहिदी गये पकड़ सब लाये, लाय झरोखों तारे दिखाए ।
तब उजीर ने विनती किन्ही, चुक सबे दूसर सिर किन्ही ।
उन्हें छोर तब दूसर ही पकड़े, पकड़ पकड़ बेरहीन में जकड़े ।’

हेमचन्द्र के बाद दूसरे वैश्य समाज के लोग हरियाणा व दिल्ली से पूर्व की ओर पलायन करने लगे और गंगा के किनारे वर्तमान कानपुर एवं उन्नाव तथा रायबरेली के बैसवारा के क्षेत्रों में बस गये।

डॉ० रमेश चन्द्र मजूमदार (1888-1980) ने लिखा है : ‘युद्धक्षेत्र की एक दुर्घटना ने हेमू की सुनिश्चित विजय को पराजय में बदल दिया। सम्भवतः वह परिणाम दिल्ली में मुगल-सल्तनत की नींव का पत्थर बनने के बजाय दिल्ली (और सम्पूर्ण भारत) में हिंदू-साम्राज्य की आधारशिला के रूप में स्थापित होता।’⁴⁶

सर विन्सेन्ट आर्थर स्मिथ ने भी लिखा है : ‘हेमू सम्भवतः युद्ध में जीत जाता, किन्तु एक दुर्घटना यह हुई कि एक तीर उसकी आँख में आकर घुस गया, जिसने उसके मस्तिष्क को छेद दिया तथा वह मूर्च्छित होकर गिर पड़ा। उसकी सेना तितर-बितर हो गई तथा बाद में आक्रमण करने के लिए संगठित नहीं हो सकी।’⁴⁷

हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की हवेली

अफगानों और मुगलों के विरुद्ध लगातार 22 युद्धों में विजेता रहे सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की अनमोल स्मृतियों को अपने आँचल में सहेजे उनकी 600 वर्ष पुरानी हवेली, जो कलात्मक कारीगरी का नायाब नमूना भी है, वर्तमान में जर्जर हालत में है। महाभारतकालीन नगरी रेवाड़ी के कुबुतपुर मोहल्ले में स्थित इस ढाई मंजिला हवेली की हालत दयनीय है। इतिहास की यह धरोहर समाप्त होने के कगार पर है।

हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की यह ढाई मंजिला हवेली प्राचीन कलात्मक कारीगरी का जीता-जागता उदाहरण है। कलात्मक मुख्यद्वार, नक्काशी से सजी दीवारें तथा दुर्लभ पत्थरों पर आकर्षक कारीगरी अनायास प्रभावित करती है। अन्दर प्रवेश करते ही वर्गाकार चौक

स्वागत करता है। चहुँओर कलात्मक नक्काशी मन को मोह लेती है। बरामदे व कक्ष की विशालता से कभी रही इसकी भव्यता का अनुमान सहज ही लगाया जा सकता है। प्रथम तल पर कुल मिलाकर छोटे-बड़े एक दर्जन कक्ष एवं चार दालान हैं। एक कक्षनुमा रसोई प्रतीत होती है। इसमें दो-तीन तहखाने भी हैं, जिन्हें अब सफाई के बाद दरवाजे लगाकर बन्द कर दिया गया है। दिलचस्प पहलू यह है कि प्रथम तल पर कहीं कोई खिड़की नज़र नहीं आती, जबकि पहले इसके आगे और पीछे आँगन भी होते थे। ऐसा सम्भवतया सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से किया गया होगा। इस तीस फुट हवेली का प्रथम तल लगभग नौ सौ से एक हजार वर्ष पुराना बताया जाता है।

आतंरिक हवेली : इस ऐतिहासिक हवेली का द्वितीय तल एक विशेष प्रकार की ईंटों से बना है, जिन्हें ‘लखौरी ईंटें’ कहा जाता है। पाँच इंच लम्बी, साढ़े तीन इंच चौड़ी तथा डेढ़ इंच मोची ईंटों की कलात्मक चिनाई में पुर्तगाली शैली के प्रमाण विद्यमान हैं। यह जीर्णोद्धार-कार्य 1540 ई० का है। इस तल पर बने दो वर्गाकार सभागार ध्यान आकर्षित करते हैं जिनमें से एक की छत गिर चुकी है तथा दूसरा सभागार ठीक स्थिति में है। सबसे ऊपर का तल खुला है, किन्तु इसकी चारदीवारी सात-आठ फुट की सुरक्षा कवच प्रतीत होती है। हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के पिता राय पूर्णदास सन् 1516 ई० में मछेरी (अलवर) से रेवाड़ी आकर कुतुबपुर मोहल्ले में रहने लगे थे। उस समय हेमचन्द्र की आयु पन्द्रह वर्ष की थी।⁴⁹

हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की वंश-परम्परा

सुप्रसिद्ध भारतीय इतिहासकार अगरचन्द नाहटा (1911-1983) ने उल्लेख किया है कि उन्होंने बीकानेर के अनूप संस्कृत लाइब्रेरी की दो हस्तलिखित प्रतियों में ‘दिल्ली राज्यवंशावली’ देखी जो संवत् 1675 के आश्विन सुदि दसमी को लिखी गई है। उसमें लिखा है : ‘पाथशाह हेमू दूसर रेवाड़ी को मास चार दिन पन्द्रह राज्य।’ इसी तरह की साधु आश्रम की ‘दिल्ली राज्यवंशावली’ की हस्तलिखित प्रति में भी हेमू को बनिया यानि वणिक् (वैश्य) बतलाया है और उसका राज्यकाल दिया है।⁴⁸

उपर्युक्त हस्तलिखित प्राचीन वंशावलियों और अबुल फज़ल तथा मध्यकालीन तथा आधुनिक इतिहासकारों का एकमत है कि हेमचन्द्र रेवाड़ी के दूसर बनिया थे। अतः उन्हें सहसराम का रोनिया बतलाना सर्वथा गलत और भ्रमपूर्ण है। बीकानेर, जयपुर आदि के हस्तलिखित संग्रहालयों में दिल्ली-राज्यवंशावली की कई प्रतियाँ हैं, उनमें से एक में ‘राजा विक्रमादित्य ई रेवाड़ी तो वाणियो मास 4 दिन 15 घड़ी दो पाट’, दूसरे में ‘हिमू वणिक् विक्रमादित्य नाम धराया। वसंत राय पाणि परवी लड़ाई पड़ी, अकबर जीत्या



कुतुबपुर (रेवाड़ी) में सम्राट् हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की हेवली



ग्वालियर का क़िला, जहाँ हेमचन्द्र को सन् 1553 में वज़ीर (प्रधानमंत्री) और सेनापति के पद पर नियुक्त किया गया और जहाँ से उन्होंने सन् 1556 में अकबर शासित आगरा व दिल्ली पर आक्रमण किया



तुगलकाबाद (दिल्ली) का क़िला जहाँ हेमचन्द्र ने अकबर की सेना को परास्त करके उत्तर भारत पर अपना राज्य स्थापित किया



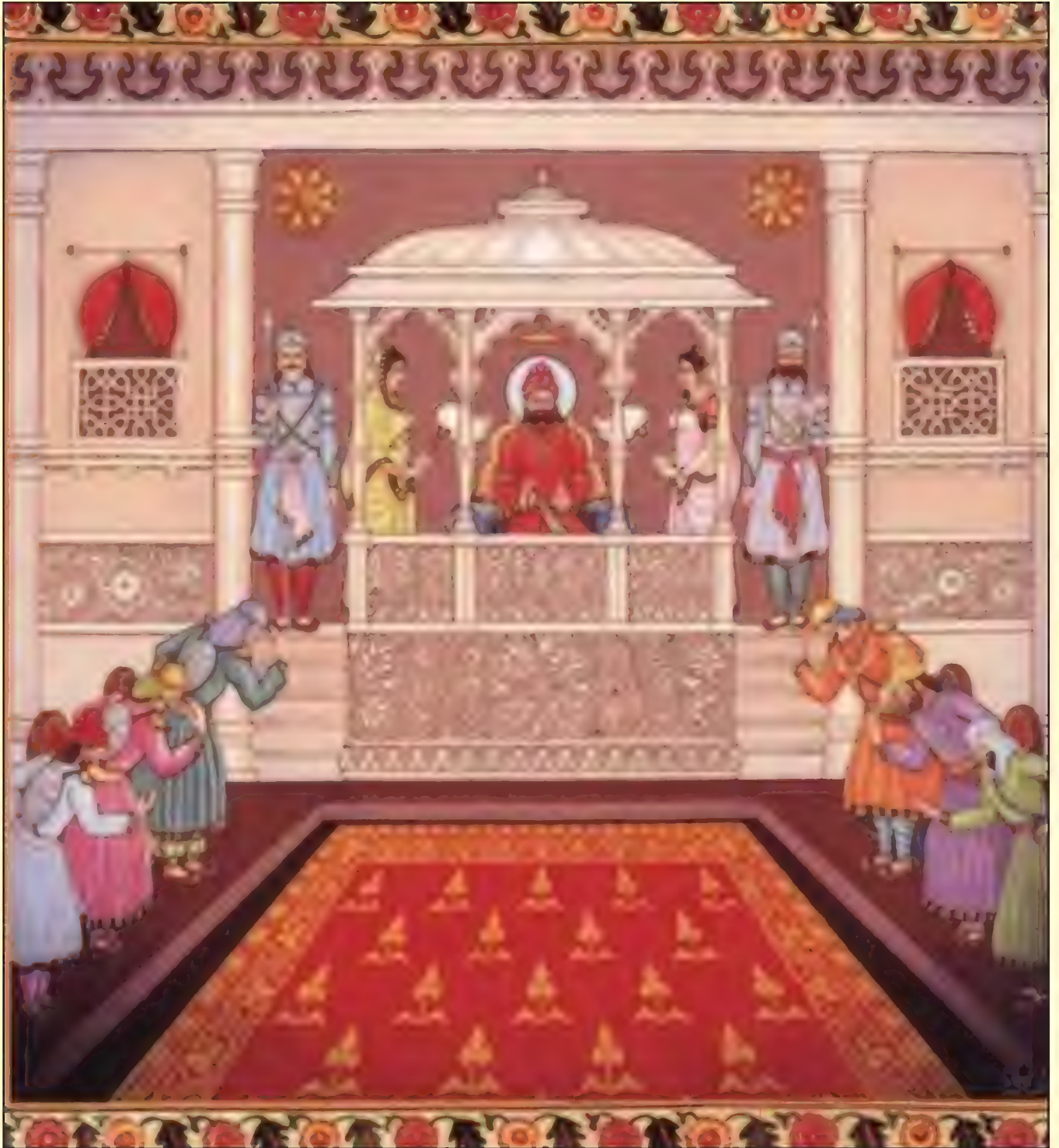
दिल्ली का पुराना क़िला, जहाँ हेमचन्द्र का राज्यारोहण हुआ और उन्होंने 'विक्रमादित्य' की उपाधि धारण की



महाराजा हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के राज्यारोहण का चित्र
(हेमचन्द्र भार्गव (चाँदनी चौक, दिल्ली) द्वारा नागपुर एफ०ए०एल० वर्क्स, सीताबर्डी, नागपुर से प्रकाशित)



पानीपत संग्रहालय (पानीपत-132103, हरियाणा) में सम्राट् हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के राज्यारोहण का चित्र



हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के राज्यारोहण का चित्र



महाराजा हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के पिता राय पूर्णदास जी



भार्गवों और हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य के सैनिकों के कटे सिरों से बनाई जा रही मीनार का मुगलकालीन चित्र
(पानीपत संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित)



पानीपत नगर के मुख्य चौराहे पर स्थापित महाराजा हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य की प्रतिमा

वणिक ना हटा', तीसरे में 'हमाऊ वरस एक महीना 5, दिन 23 राज कीयो, तिहकेपार हेमू वाण्यो दूसर राज बेठो' इत्यादि लिखा है। अर्थात् प्राचीन सभी वंशावलियाँ और ऐतिहासिक ग्रन्थ, हेमू रेवाड़ी के दूसर वणिक थे, इसी बात की समर्थक हैं।⁵⁰

हेमू का नाम उन्होंने 'हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य' दिया है, जबकि जयभिक्षु ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'विक्रमादित्य हेमू' में 'हेमराज' लिखा है। साधु आश्रम के 'सम्यक्त्व कौमुदी' की हस्तलिखित प्रति में भी 'हेमराज' नाम मिला है। इस प्रशस्ति में पतिशाह हेमराज के वंशजों का विस्तृत विवरण दिया है, यह प्रति संवत् 1726, आषाढ़ सुदी 9, रविवार को लाहौर में लिखी गयी। दिगम्बर सम्प्रदाय के काष्ठा संघ माथुर गज उसका गण के भट्टारक महिचन्द्र के शिष्य ब्रह्मसर सागर में हेमराज के वंशी हीरानन्द ने समर्पित की। इसमें हेमराज का विशेषण 'पतिशाह' देखकर मुझे वह हेमू ही प्रतीत होता है, यद्यपि इसमें उसकी जाति अग्रवाल, गोत्र मित्तल, तोलावंश खेरवाड़ का बताया है, जबकि अन्य उल्लेखों में दूसर मिलता है। दूसर आजकल भार्गव ब्राह्मण भी बतलाये जाते हैं पर वास्तव में हेमू ब्राह्मण नहीं, वणिक ही था। वेंकटेश्वर प्रेस, बम्बई से प्रकाशित पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद जी मिश्र संकलित 'जातिभास्कर' के पृ० 263-264 में दूसरों के संबंध में लिखा गया है कि 'दिल्ली और मिर्जापुर के मध्यवर्ती गंगा के निकट प्रान्त में इनका निवास है। गुड़गाँव ज़िले के निकट रेवाड़ी नगर के 'धोरे पूँसी' नामक गंडशैल के नाम से यह 'धूँसरी' व 'धूँसी' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुए, ये सब वैष्णव मतावलम्बी हैं, प्रसिद्ध हेमू वैश्य इसी वंश का था जिसने सवा लाख फौज लेकर बादशाह का मुकाबला किया और 964 में गिरफ्तार होकर मारा गया। कस्बे रेवाड़ी के साईं गुड़गाँव के समीप धूँसी है, उस स्थान में च्यवन ऋषि तपस्या करते थे, दूसरू उन्हीं के वंशज हैं। उस पर्वत पर एक तालाब और मठ है और मठ के द्वार पर गऊ का एक चिह्न है। वहाँ इस जाति के लोग दर्शन को जाते हैं और सरोवर में स्नान कर दर्शन करते हैं। कार्तिक और वैशाख शुक्ल पूर्णिमा को यहाँ मेला लगता है।' इससे दूसर या धूसर वैश्य ही थे, निश्चित है। प्रशस्ति में अग्रवाल होने का उल्लेख है। यह कुछ विचारणीय अवश्य है। सम्भव है कि दूसरू या अग्रवाल का कुछ पुराना एक होने का संबंध हो। दोनों वैश्य तो हैं ही। प्रशस्ति लाहौर में लिखी गई है। उसके लिए तो विचार की बात नहीं। सम्भव है कि हेमू के मारे जाने के बाद उनके वंशज लाहौर में रहने लगे हों। प्रशस्ति का प्रतिभा विशेषण ही मुझे बहुत महत्व का लगा। यदि वह सुप्रसिद्ध हेमू के वंशजों का ही है तो अवश्य ही अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है।⁵¹

'सम्यक्त्व कौमुदी' का प्रशस्ति-पत्र 78—

'संवत् १७२६ वर्षे आसाढ़ शुदि ९ दिने रविवारे

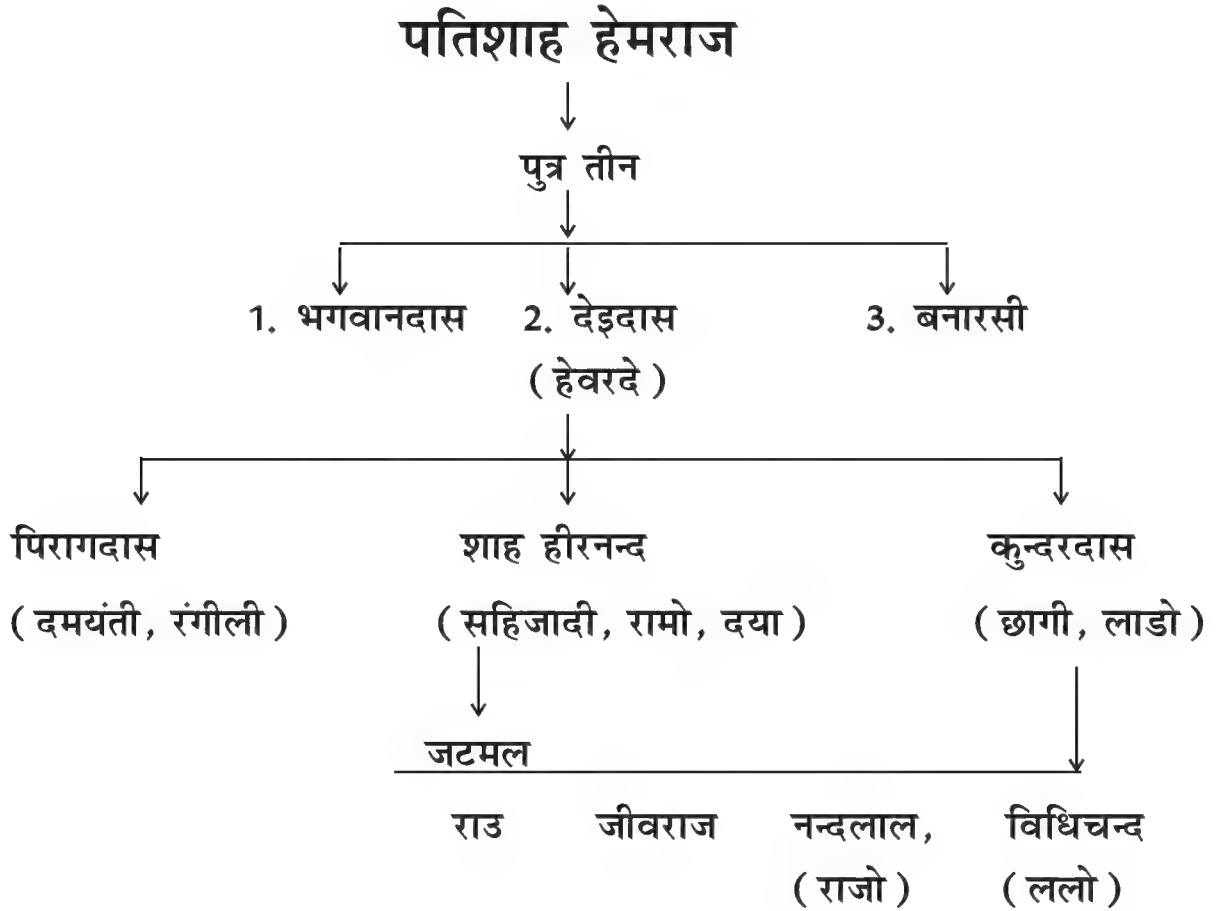
लिषत... लाहौर मध्ये। यादृशं पुस्तक दृष्ट्वातांदृशल्लिखतं मया यद शुद्धं म सुद्धं वा ममदोषो न दीयते। अथ संवत्सरे श्री विक्रमादित्य राज संवत् १७२६ वर्ष आसाढ़ शुदि ९ दिने रविवारे। श्री काष्ठासंघे माथुर गच्छे पुकर गणे भट्टारक श्री जयसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक वारसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री ब्रह्मसेन देवः तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री रुद्रसेन देवः तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री कीर्तिसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री जयकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री अभयकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक भूतिसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री भावकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री विश्वचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री अभयचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक माधवचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री नेमचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री विनयचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री बालचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री त्रिभुवनचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री रामचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री विनयचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री यशकीर्ति बृहत् देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री अभयकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री महासेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री कुन्दकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री भुवनचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री रामशेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री हरषेण देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री गुणसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री कुमारसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री प्रतापसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री माहोसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री बिजसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री नयसेन देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री आससेन देवा तत्पट्टे मकरध्वज मातंग विध्वंसनैक केसरिकिसोरान् भट्टारक श्री अनन्तकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे प्रतिष्ठाचार्य भट्टारक श्री क्षेमकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे वैभार सम्पेद विपुल गिरि यात्रालब्ध विजयोमान भट्टारक हेमकीर्ति देवा तत्पट्टे कर्मग्रन्थ आगमग्रन्थ विचारक भः श्री कुमारसेनो देवा तत्पट्टे सकल विद्यानिधान संयम नियम स्वाध्याय ध्यान तत्पर सकल मुनिजन लब्धप्रतिष्ठाचार्य भः श्री हेमचन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टे वादीगजकुम्भस्थल विदारणैककवी खान निज सौम्यत्वेन निर्जि सुधा सूति मंडलान् भः श्री पद्मनन्दी देवा तत्पट्टे सकल विद्यानिधान संयम नियम स्वाध्याय ध्यान तत्परः सकल मुनिज लब्ध पट्टाचार्य भः श्री श्री श्री श्री त्रिभुवनकीर्ति सुर देवा तत्पट्टे भः श्री सहसकीर्ति तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री महीचन्द्र जी तत् शिष्य ब्रह्महर्षसागर तेन द्वदं सम्यक् कौमुदी शास्त्र शाह

हीरानन्द लिखापितं ब्रह्महर्षेण समर्पिता निज ज्ञाणावरणीकरम् क्षया निमित्तं । ज्ञानवान ज्ञान दानेन, निरभयो भयदानतः । अन्दानात् सुधी नित्यं । तिर्व्वार्धी भेषजाद भवेत् ॥ 1 ॥

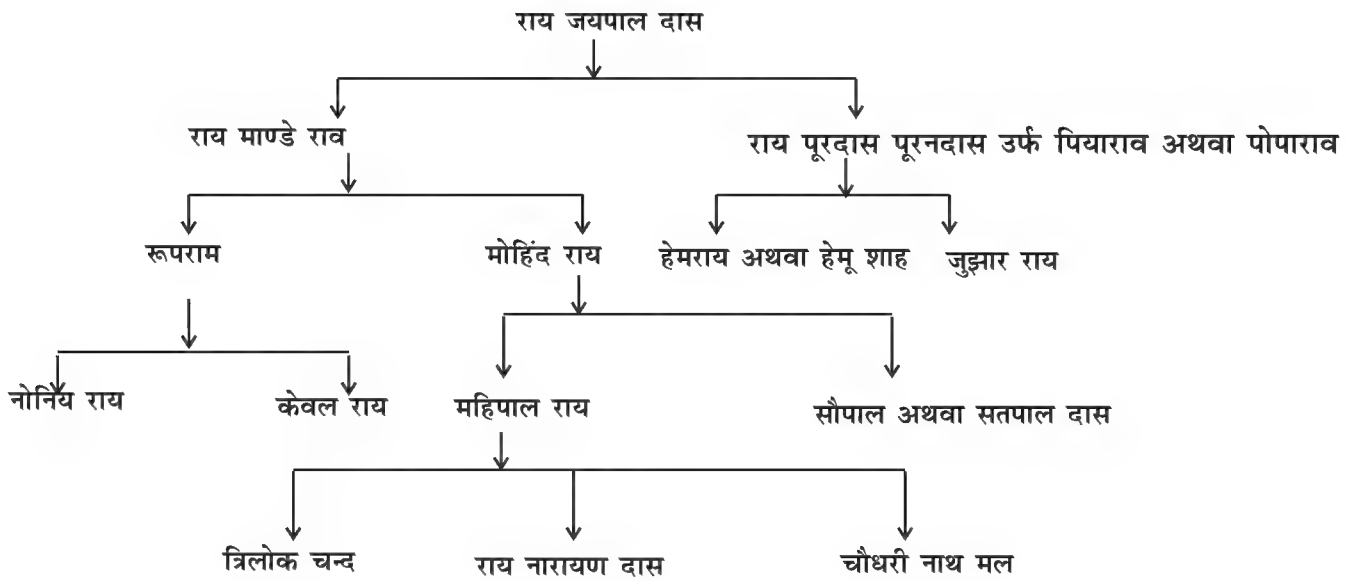
अग्रोतकान्वये श्री लोहाचार्य आम्याये श्री मीतनल्स्य गोत्रे टोलावंशे खडवाल पतीसाह हेमराज तस्य भार्या सीलतोयतरंगिणी विनय वणोस्वरी लटको । तस्य पुत्रत्रय प्रथम पुत्रसीलेन सुदर्शना अवतार सज्जन जन सुषकार धरमाधार पवित्र शाह भगवानदास तस्य भार्या सीलेन सीता, दानेन रेवती, रूपेण चलणा, निसाकेत द्रौपदी, हे वरदे तस्य पुत्रत्रय प्रथम पुत्र सर्व उपमायोग शाह पिरागदास तस्य भार्या दोई प्रथम भार्या दमयन्ती द्वितीया रंगीली । भगवानदास द्वितीय पुत्र राजसभा शृंगारक सम्यक्त्व मूल स्थूल द्वादशव्रत धारक सज्जन जन सुखकारक सुम्रावक पुण्य प्रभावक जैन सभा मंडन मिथ्यात्वनय खंडन दानेन श्रेयांसावतार, पर-उपरिगण युधिष्ठिरा अवतार सर्वोपमायोग शाह हीरानन्द तस्य भार्या त्रय प्रथम भार्या

सहिजादी द्वितीया भार्या रामो त्रितीय भार्या सीलताय तरंगिणी विनय वागेशरी दानेन रेवती, सीलेन सीता, रूपेण चलना, साध्वी दया । हीरानन्द प्रथम पुत्र चिरंजीवी जटमल्ल तस्य भार्या धागी (?) द्वितीया भार्या लाडो । कुन्दनदास प्रथम पुत्र नन्दलाल तस्य भार्या राजो । कुन्दनदास द्वितीय पुत्र विधिचन्द तस्य भार्या ललो । तृतीय जीवराज । हेमराज द्वितीय पुत्र देइदास तृतीय पुत्र बनारसी । शाह हीरानन्द सम्यक्त्व कौमुदी शास्त्र लिषावत निज-ज्ञाणावरणी करम क्षया निमित्तं । लिखितं श्री लाभपुर मध्ये श्री रस्तु श्री ।⁵²

यदि उपर्युक्त प्रशस्ति के 'हेमराज', सम्राट् हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य ही हैं, जैसा कि उनके नाम से पूर्व 'पतिशाह' विशेषण से ज्ञात होता है, तो उनके वंशज संवत् 1726 (1669 ई०) तक तो निश्चित रूप से लाहौर में विद्यमान थे। प्रशस्ति के अनुसार सम्राट् हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य का वंशवृक्ष इस प्रकार बनता है—⁵³



हेमू की वंशावली



उपर्युक्त वंशावली साधु धर्म मित्र द्वारा इकाशित 'हेमू वीर' तथा रिवाड़ी-निवासी हेमचन्द्र के वंशजों द्वारा इकाशित सूचना पर आधारित है— हेमू और उनका युग, मोतीलाल भार्गव, पृ० 15

अगरचन्द नाहटा ने लिखा है : 'जैन-भण्डारों में विशेष खोज करने पर सम्भव है कोई और भी प्रशस्ति मिल जाए, तथा जिस भट्टारक-परम्परा के वह अनुयायी थे, उसकी पट्टावली प्राप्त होने पर कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बातों का पता चल सकता है। अभी तक इस्लामी तवारीखों के आधार पर ही उस समय का इतिहास लिखा गया है और उन्होंने इस्लाम का पक्ष लेकर भारतीय इतिहास के बहुत-से उज्ज्वल पक्ष को विकृत रूप में प्रस्तुत किया या उनका उल्लेख ही नहीं किया है।' ⁵³

डॉ० रमेश चन्द्र मजूमदार ने लिखा है : 'मध्यकालीन और आधुनिक इतिहासकारों ने हेमू के प्रति न्याय नहीं किया और उस विलक्षण प्रतिभावान हिंदू-शासक और प्रखर व्यक्तित्व का उचित मूल्यांकन करने में असफल रहे।' ⁵⁵

विनायक दामोदर सावरकर ने लिखा है : 'मुस्लिम-इतिहास में इस हिंदू वीर पुरुष के विषय में अत्यन्त अल्प-स्वल्प और कामचलाऊ विवरण मिलता है, जो उसके पूर्व और पश्चात्कालीन जीवन से सम्बद्ध है। उन दिनों हेमू का सम्पूर्ण चित्र प्रस्तुत करनेवाला हिंदू-इतिहासकार होना अति कठिन था। बाद में, जो हुए उन्होंने भी उसके विषय में स्वतन्त्र रूप से कुछ भी नहीं लिखा।' ⁵⁶

डॉ० सतीश चन्द्र मित्र ने लिखा है : 'यहाँ पर क्षणिक

रुककर यह विचारणीय अवश्य है कि हेमू की इस महान् राष्ट्रभक्ति तथा सफलता को यूरोपीय-इतिहासकारों, विशेषकर निष्पक्षता की दुहाई देनेवाले ब्रिटिश प्रशासक-इतिहासकारों ने देश की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए हेमू के अदम्य उत्साह तथा साहस की प्रशंसा क्यों नहीं की तथा अकबर, जो स्वयं विदेशी था, उसकी वकालत क्यों की ? वस्तुतः यह हेमू का न्यायोचित अधिकार था तथा सर्वोत्कृष्ट कर्तव्य भी। सत्य तो यह है कि स्वयं ब्रिटिश भी घुसपैठिये थे। इसलिए वे जान-बूझकर चुप रहे। अतः संक्षेप में कोई निष्पक्ष व्यक्ति इसके लिए हेमू की प्रशंसा तथा अद्भुत साहस की सराहना किए बिना नहीं रह सकता। यह तो हेमू के गौरवमय राष्ट्रीय चरित्र का उज्ज्वल प्रमाण है।' ⁵⁷

अगरचन्द नाहटा ने लिखा है : 'सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य ने चाहे एक महीने या चार महीने ही राज किया हो, पर शताब्दियों के इस्लामी साम्राज्य के बीच उसके जितना प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व अवश्य ही भारतीय इतिहास का एक महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय है। संयोगवश उनकी आँख में तीर लग जाने से अकबर का राज्य हो गया, पर हेमचन्द्र की महत्वाकांक्षा की अवश्य ही दाद देनी पड़ेगी। भारतीय इतिहास का वह उज्ज्वल नक्षत्र था। उसके संबंध में अधिकाधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करना प्रत्येक देशवासी और इतिहासप्रेमी का कर्तव्य हो जाता है।' ⁵⁸

सन्दर्भ एवं टिप्पणियाँ :

1. 'विक्रमादित्य हेमू और उनके वंशज', अगरचन्द नाहटा, सरस्वती, जनवरी, 1957, पृ० 14
2. भारतीय समाज का ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण, भगवतशरण उपाध्याय, वाणी प्रकाशन, 2009, पृ० 154
3. सन् 1944 में गुजरात के सुप्रसिद्ध कथाकार जयभिक्षू ने 'दिल्लीश्वर : विक्रमादित्य हेमू' नामक अपने गुजराती-उपन्यास में हेमचन्द्र को मंडोवर के जैन-श्रावक का पुत्र और जौनपुर की पाठशाला में शेरशाह का सहपाठी तथा कालान्तर में दिल्ली का एक जौहरी और अन्त में एक जैन यति की प्रेरणा से महान् योद्धा और दिल्लीश्वर के रूप में चित्रित किया है।
4. राहुल सांकृत्यायन (1893-1963) ने 'हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य' शीर्षक अपने एक लेख में हेमचन्द्र को सहसराम (सासाराम, बिहार) के रोनियार-वंश का बतलाया है।
—सरस्वती, मई 1956
5. डॉ० दशरथ शर्मा (1903-1976) ने लिखा है कि हेमू के धर्म के विषय में मुसलमान इतिहासकार मौन हैं। किन्तु बहुत सम्भव है कि वह जैन रहा हो। रेवाड़ी के आस-पास के भार्गव (प्राचीन ढोसर) 'हेमू दिवस' मनाते हैं। बीकानेर में जनरल जयदेव सिंह जी कुमेदानजी, डॉ० शंकरलाल आदि दूसर हैं। हेमू जाति के दूसर वणिक थे— इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। अब दूसर अपने को 'भार्गव ब्राह्मण' कहने लगे हैं। काँग्रेसी-नेता गोपीचन्द्र भार्गव, ठाकुरदास भार्गव वास्तव में दूसर हैं। यह जाति हर वर्ष रेवाड़ी में 'हेमू दिवस' मनाती है।'...पर वास्तव में दूसर वैश्य ही थे और अब भी कई दूसर अपने को वैश्य ही मानते हैं।
—'विक्रमादित्य हेमू और उनके वंशज', सरस्वती, जनवरी, 1957, पृ० 14, 17
6. ख्वाज़ा निज़ामुद्दीन अहमद ने लिखा है : 'हेमू मेवात के परगने में रेवाड़ी के कस्बे में एक बक्काल (बनिया) था। बाद में वह बाज़ार का दरोगा और सेना का महानिदेशक बन गया। फिर वह और भी ऊँचा बढ़ गया और सुल्तान अदली का मुख्य सलाहकार हो गया।'—तबकात-ए-अकबरी, भारत का इतिहास, खण्ड 5, इलियट एण्ड डाउसन, अनुवादक : डॉ० मथुरालाल शर्मा, शिवलाल अग्रवाल एण्ड कं०, आगरा, 1969, पृ० 195
7. सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य दूसर (भार्गव) मेमोरियल चेरिटेबल ट्रस्ट, पृ० 6-7
8. वही, पृ० 7
9. वही, पृ० 7
10. वही, पृ० 8
11. वही, पृ० 8
12. भारतीय समाज का ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण, पृ० 154-155
13. तबकात-ए-अकबरी, भारत का इतिहास, खण्ड 5, इलियट एण्ड डाउसन, पृ० 197-198
14. वही, पृ० 198
15. सर विन्सेन्ट आर्थर स्मिथ ने लिखा है, 'हेमू, जिसने अपने सुल्तान अदली (या आदिलशाह/मुबारिज़ खान) के लिए दिल्ली और आगरे पर विजय प्राप्त की, विचार करने लगा कि अब उसकी प्रभुसत्ता की घोषणा का समय आ गया है। अब एक बड़ी सेना और (यौद्धिक) हाथी उसके अधीन हैं। और, अब यह श्रेयस्कर होगा कि वह स्वयं अपना राज्य स्थापित करे, बजाय इसके कि वह

अपने अनुपस्थित स्वामी के लिए निरन्तर युद्ध करता जाये।' ('Hemu, who had won Delhi and Agra in the name of his master Adali, now began to reflect that his sovereign was a long way off, that he himself was in possession of the army and elephants, and that it might be better to gain a kingdom for his own benefit rather than for that of his absent employer. Accordingly, he distributed the spoil, excepting the elephants, among the Afghans who accompanied him, and thus won them over to his side.')

—Akbar the great Mogul 1542-1605, Oxford, 1917, pp.36-37.

16. प्रख्यात इतिहासकार जे०सी० पॉवेल-प्राइस (J.C. Powell-Price) ने लिखा है : 'मुगलों का दिल्ली, आगरा और सम्भल पर अधिकार था, लेकिन हेमू ने एक बड़ी सेना एकत्र की और दिल्ली पर सूर-वंश का शासन फिर से स्थापित करने के लिए चल पड़ा। हेमू, जो रेवाड़ी का बनिया था, एक सैनिक और प्रशासक के रूप में काफी प्रसिद्ध हो चुका था। पर वह दिल्ली सूरवंश के लिए नहीं, अपितु अपने लिए विजय करना चाहता था।'—A history of India, Published by : UK Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., London, 1955, p. 244.
17. विनायक दामोदर सावरकर ने लिखा है : '...उन दिनों हुमायूँ द्वारा परास्त सूरी घराने का अन्तिम बादशाह मुहम्मदशाह आदिल वायव्य दिशा की ओर भाग गया था। किन्तु जिस पुरुषार्थी हिंदू-वज़ीर को हाथों उसने राजसत्ता सौंपी थी, वह हेमू इस अवसर का लाभ उठाने के लिए दिल्ली प्रदेश में ही डेरा डाले हुए था।'

—भारतीय इतिहास के छः स्वर्णिम पृष्ठ, खण्ड 3, लोकहति प्रकाशन, लखनऊ, पृ० 120

18. डॉ० आशीर्वादीलाल श्रीवास्तव के अनुसार हेमचन्द्र ने अपने जीवन में 24 युद्ध लड़े, जिसमें 22 में उसने सफलता प्राप्त की थी।
—भारत का इतिहास, पृ० 482
19. वही, पृ० 485
20. राष्ट्रीय चेतना के प्रकाश में भारत में राष्ट्रीयता का स्वरूप, अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना, नयी दिल्ली, 2013, पृ० 113
21. भारतीय इतिहास के छः स्वर्णिम पृष्ठ, खण्ड 3, पृ० 121
22. सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य : 5वाँ जन्मशताब्दी वर्ष (2001-2002), पृ० 11
23. भारतीय समाज का ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण, पृ० 155
24. संसार के प्रसिद्ध युद्ध, सुरेन्द्र कुमार, प्रभात प्रकाशन, नयी दिल्ली, पृ० 81
25. वही, पृ० 81
26. अबुल फजल ने लिखा है कि हेमू ने अपनी सेना को तीन भागों में विभक्त किया था। मध्य भाग का नेतृत्व वह स्वयं कर रहा था। इसमें पाँच सौ हाथी और बीस हजार अफगान और राजपूत थे।

—अकबरनामा, भाग 2

27. संसार के प्रसिद्ध युद्ध, पृ० 82
28. भारतीय समाज का ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण, पृ० 155
29. श्री विश्वास पाटील (जन्म : 1959 ई०) ने लिखा है : 'हेमू जब विजय के बहुत निकट आ गया था, उसे एक जहरीला साँप डस गया। वह हाथी के हौदे से नीचे गिर पड़ा। उसे मरा जानकर उसकी सेना में भगदड़ मच गयी। सेना भाग खड़ी हुई। हेमू नाहक मारा गया।'—पानीपत (ऐतिहासिक उपन्यास), पृ० 409, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ, 1991
30. शंकर बाम ने लिखा है, '... फिर उसी (पानीपत के) मैदान में दो ही पीढ़ी बाद हेमू (हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य) ने उसके (बाबर के) पोते अकबर और उसके

सरपरस्त बैरम खान से मुगलों की सल्तनत छीन लेने की कोशिश की थी। यह युद्ध हेमू लगभग जीत चुका था कि उसकी आँख में कोई चीज ऐसी आकर लगी कि वह बेहोश होकर गिर पड़ा। नेताविहीन सेना तितर-बितर हो गयी। परिणामस्वरूप मुगल-शासन की नींव पक्की हो गयी।

—यमुना की कहानी, पृ० 18, प्रभात प्रकाशन, दिल्ली

31. निज़ामुद्दीन अहमद ने लिखा है : 'एक बाण हेमू की आँख में घुस गया और उसके सिर के पीछे से निकल गया। जब उसके नीचे लड़नेवालों ने उसकी यह दशा देखी तो उनके हाथ संज्ञाशून्य हो गये और वे तितर-बितर हो गये। शाही सेना ने उनका पीछा किया और उनके टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर डाले।'

—तबकात-ए-अकबरी, भारत का इतिहास, खण्ड 5, पृ० 206

32. जे०सी० पॉवेल-प्राइस ने लिखा है : 'हेमू 1 लाख सैनिक और 1,500 हाथी लेकर आगे बढ़ा। उसके विरुद्ध अली कुली ख़ाँ के नेतृत्व में केवल 20 हजार मुगल थे और बैरम ख़ाँ और अकबर सेना की पृष्ठभूमि में थे। आरम्भ में अधिक संख्या का पलड़ा भारी रहा और पानीपत के मैदान में मुगलों की कतारें छिन्न-भिन्न हो गयीं। जब हेमू ने अपने हाथियों को मुगलों की बीच की कतार में प्रविष्ट कराया तो कुछ समय के लिए ऐसा विदित हुआ कि मानो हेमू जीत जायेगा। इसका निर्णय तोपों ने तो नहीं, बल्कि एक चोट ने किया जो उसकी आँख में लगा और उसे फोड़कर सिर के पीछे जा निकला। महावत तुरन्त घायल और बेहोश सेनापति को युद्ध के मैदान से बाहर ले गया और यह उसकी सेना के पलायन के लिए संकेत था।'

—A history of India, p.246

33. सर विन्सेन्ट आर्थर स्मिथ ने लिखा है : '05 नवम्बर, 1556 को हेमू को (पानीपत के द्वितीय युद्ध में) शत्रुपक्ष के दाएँ और बाएँ भाग को ध्वस्त करके उनमें संग्राम की स्थिति पैदा करने में सफलता मिली। उसने शत्रुपक्ष के मध्य में खान ज़मन के नेतृत्व में लड़नेवाले सैनिकों को अपने पहाड़-सरीखे हाथियों के द्वारा घेरकर अपनी विजय का निर्णायक क्षण लगभग प्राप्त कर लिया था। सम्भवतः उसकी विजय हो जाती, लेकिन दुर्घटनावश तभी उसकी आँख में एक तीर लगा जो उसके सिर के आर-पार हो गया और वह चेतनाशून्य हो गया। एक भारतीय सेना अपने अधिपति के अभाव में कभी संगठित नहीं रह सकती, जिसके जीवन पर वह पूरी तरह आश्रित होती है। हेमू के सैनिक (अपने स्वामी को चेतनाहीन समझकर) विभिन्न दिशाओं में बिखर गए और उन्होंने शत्रुपक्ष के आक्रमण को रोकने का कोई प्रयास नहीं किया।' ('On November 5 Hemu succeeded in throwing both the right and the left wings of his opponents into confusion, and sought to make his victory decisive by bringing all his 'mountain-like elephants' to bear on the centre of the enemy, commanded by Khan Zaman. Probably he would have won but for the accident that he was struck in the eye by an arrow which pierced his brain and rendered him unconscious. An Indian army never could survive the loss of its leader, on whose life its pay depended. Hemu's soldiers at once scattered in various directions and made no further attempt at resistance.')

—Akbar the great Mogul 1542-1605, pp.38-39.

34. डॉ० रमेश चन्द्र मजूमदार ने लिखा है : 'वी०ए० स्मिथ ने 'दुर्घटना' शब्द का उचित प्रयोग किया है, और निस्सन्देह यह मात्र एक 'दुर्घटना' ही थी जिसने हेमू को विजयश्री, राजसिंहासन और जीवन से वंचित कर दिया। जबकि स्मिथ का विचार है कि हेमू की विजय के बहुत अच्छे अवसर थे, सर वोल्स्ले हेग जोर देकर कहते हैं कि 'मुगल-सेना निश्चिततः रौंद दी जाती, यदि हेमू की आँख में तीर न लगा होता।... अतः यह कहना युक्तिसंगत होगा कि हेमू की

असफलता का सबसे बड़ा कारण वह अनजाना और अदृश्य तत्त्व है जिसे भाग्य या नियति कहते हैं, जो मनुष्यमात्र के जीवन में निर्मम भूमिका निभाता है।' ('V.A. Smith rightly uses the word 'accident'— and it is undoubtedly a more accident that deprived Hemu of victory, throne and life. While Smith thinks that Hemu had every chance of winning the battle. Sir Wolseley Haig asserts that the Mughul forces "would certainly have been overpowered had not Hemu's eye been pierced by an arrow.... It may, therefore, be reasonably held, that Hemu's failure was, in a great measure, due to that unknown and unknowable factor, called fate or destiny, which plays no inconsiderable part in the affairs of men.')

—'Himu— A Forgotten Hindu Hero', *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, 1984, p.101.

35. संसार के प्रसिद्ध युद्ध, पृ० 82

36. अबुल फज़ल ने लिखा है कि अपने प्राणों के भय से हेमू के महावत ने ही अपने मालिक से विश्वासघात किया था।

—अकबरनामा, भाग 2, पृ० 49

37. तबकात-ए-अकबरी, भारत का इतिहास, खण्ड 5, पृ० 206

38. अकबरनामा, खण्ड 2, पृ० 51; बदायूनी, खण्ड 2, पृ० 16; तारीख-ए-अल्फी और फैजी सरहिंदी का अकबरनामा

39. 'Hemu's elephant, which had fled into the jungle, was brought back by Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and its unconscious rider was placed before the Protector and Akbar, who had ridden up. During the battle the young prince had been kept at a safe distance in the rear, and Bairam Khan had left the conduct of the fight to his lieutenants.

Bairam Khan desired Akbar to earn the title of Ghazi, or Slayer of the Infidel, by fleshing his sword on the captive. The boy naturally obeyed his guardian and smote Hemu on the neck with his scimitar. The bystanders also plunged their swords into the bleeding corpse. Hemu's head was sent to Kabul to be exposed, and his trunk was gibbeted at one of the gates of Delhi. Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khan, who had a right to expect obedience; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story, that a magnanimous sentiment of unwillingness to strike a helpless prisoner already half dead compelled him to refuse to obey his guardian's instructions, seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers.'

—Akbar the great Mogul 1542-1605, p.39.

40. पानीपत के युद्ध-संग्रहालय में इस सन्दर्भ का एक चित्र आज भी हिंदुओं की दुर्दशा के स्मारक के रूप में प्रदर्शित है।

41. सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, पृ० 18

42. वही, पृ० 19

43. हेमचन्द्र के पिता राय पूर्णदास संत व्यक्ति थे। उन्होंने गृहस्थाश्रम छोड़कर वृन्दावन में हितहरिवंश सम्प्रदाय में दीक्षा ली थी और पूरी तरह ईश्वरोपासना में लीन थे। बैरम खान के निर्देश पर उसके सिपहसालार मौलाना पीर मुहम्मद खान ने राय पूर्णदास को बन्दी बना लिया। उस समय उनकी आयु 80 वर्ष थी। पीर मुहम्मद ने संत से धर्म-परिवर्तन या मृत्युदण्ड के लिए कहा। अल-बदायूनी के अनुसार, संत ने पीर मुहम्मद से स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा कि

पिछले अस्सी वर्ष तक मैंने स्वधर्मानुसार भगवान् का पूजन किया। अब अपने जीवन की सन्ध्या में, केवल मृत्यु के भय से उसे क्यों बदलूँ? मैं यह समझने में भी अपने को असमर्थ पाता हूँ कि मेरा धर्म तुम्हारे धर्म (या तुम्हारी उपासना-पद्धति) में किसी तरह बाधक है। पीर मुहम्मद ने एक मतांध व्यक्ति के रूप में संत की वाणी पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया और तलवार के वार से संत के टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर दिया।

—सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, पृ० 19

44. सर विन्सेन्ट आर्थर स्मिथ ने भी लिखा है : 'हेमू के वृद्ध पिता को मौत की सजा दी गयी।' ('... Whose aged father was executed.')
- Akbar the great Mogul 1542-1605, p.40.
45. सम्राट हेमचन्द्र विक्रमादित्य, पृ० 20-21
46. 'But, for an accident in a battle which turned victory into defeat, might have founded a Hindu ruling dynasty, instead of the Mughuls, in Delhi.'
- 'Himu— A Forgotten Hindu Hero', *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, p.97.
47. 'Probably he would have won but for the accident that he was struck in the eye by an arrow which pierced his brain and rendered him unconscious. An Indian army never could survive the loss of its leader, on whose life its pay depended. Hemu's soldiers at once scattered in various directions and made no further attempt at resistance.'
- Akbar the great Mogul 1542-1605, pp.38-39.
48. 'मेरा रंग-रूप बिगड़ गया', सत्यवीर नाहड़िया, दैनिक ट्रिब्यून, 17 नवम्बर, 2011
49. 'विक्रमादित्य हेमू और उनके वंशज', सरस्वती, जनवरी, 1957, पृ० 15
50. वही, पृ० 16
51. वही, पृ० 16
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डॉ० आशीष कुमार दुबे *

3

तरप्रदेश के चित्रकूट जनपद में मंदाकिनी नदी के वाम तट पर स्थित रामायणकालीन सुप्रसिद्ध तीर्थ चित्रकूट से 5 किमी० पूर्व मंदाकिनी नदी के दक्षिण तट पर मुगलकालीन नगर तरौहा स्थित है। 1569 ई० में जब राजा रामचन्द्र बघेल (1555-1592) से मुगल-सम्राट् अकबर ने कालंजर का किला ले लिया, तब उसने न केवल मुगल-आधिपत्य स्वीकार किया वरन् अपनी राजधानी चित्रकूट से 35 किमी० पूर्व में स्थित गहोरा से हटाकर बान्धौगढ़ स्थानान्तरित कर दिया।¹ उसने इस क्षेत्र को जागीर के रूप में सुर्की (सोलंकी) बन्धु हृदयराम अथवा उनके पिता को दे दिया, जिसने तरौहा में एक किला बनवाया। राजा हृदयराम के पुत्र राजा रुद्रराम सुर्की ने तिकुवापुर के कवि परमानन्द त्रिपाठी को 1667 ई० में 'भूषण' उपाधि से विभूषित किया था।² उसके पुत्र राजा बसंतराम सुर्की ने बुन्देल राजा छत्रसाल के गुरु और प्रणामी सम्प्रदाय के संस्थापक स्वामी प्राणनाथ को तरौहा किले में सादर आमन्त्रित किया था जहाँ उन्होंने 1686-'87 ई. में रहकर *क्यामतनामा* नामक ग्रंथ की रचना की थी।³ अठारहवीं शताब्दी के प्रथम दशक में जब बुन्देल राजा छत्रसाल ने तरौहा-चित्रकूट इलाके पर अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित किया तब सुर्की राजा बघेल राजा की शरण में बघेलखण्ड चले गये। तरौहा अब चित्रकूट जनपद के मुख्यालय कर्वी का एक उपभाग है। चिरागविहीन कर्वी ग्राम तरौहा-स्थित जयदेव मठ के महंत को बुन्देला-शासकों से पादार्थ में प्राप्त था। 1809-'10 ई० में ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के शासन ने 1803 ई० की वसई की सन्धि के तहत पूना से निष्कासित पेशवा अमृतराव को कर्वी का कुछ भाग मठ के महंत से लेकर जागीर के रूप में दिया था, किन्तु 1824 ई० में अपनी मृत्युपर्यंत वह वाराणसी में ही रहा। उसका पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी विनायकराव वाराणसी छोड़कर 1824 ई० के बाद कर्वी में आकर रहने लगा था। उसकी मृत्यु 1853



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ई० में हुई। कर्वी और उसके समीपवर्ती क्षेत्र में अनेक भवन, वापी और मन्दिर बनवाने तथा बगीचे लगवाने और बाज़ार स्थापित करने का श्रेय

* 4अ/2/1 म्योराबाद, इलाहाबाद-211 002 (उत्तरप्रदेश)

उसे दिया जाता है। वह तरौहा का किला छोड़कर कर्वी में स्वनिर्मित 'बाड़ा' नामक महल में रहता था।⁴ उसके दत्तक पुत्रों— नारायणराव और माधवराव ने 1857 ई० के प्रथम भारतीय स्वाधीनता संग्राम में सक्रिय भाग लिया था, फलतः उन्हें ब्रितानी शासकों द्वारा बन्दी बनाया गया और उनकी समस्त सम्पत्ति जब्त कर ली गयी थी। वस्तुतः तरौहा के सन्निवेश का श्रेय सुर्कियों को दिया जाता है और लगभग एक किमी० दूर कर्वी का सन्निवेशन मराठों की देन है।

तरौहा के सम्भ्रांत निवासी पं० अम्बिका प्रसाद द्विवेदी के पूजागृह में पारिवारिक दाय के रूप में प्राप्त पीतल की एक लघु देवी प्रतिमा (18.5 सेमी० ऊँची और 8.5 सेमी० चौड़ी) है जिसका पृष्ठभाग अभिलिखित है। द्विवेदीजी कर्वी नगरपालिका के पूर्व अध्यक्ष तथा जयदेव संस्कृत महाविद्यालय (तरौहा) के पूर्व आचार्य हैं। उन्होंने कृपापूर्वक प्रथम बार किसी अध्येता को यह प्रतिमा दिखायी और उसके पृष्ठभाग का छायाचित्र लेने की अनुमति दी। एतदर्थ मैं उनका हृदय से आभारी हूँ।

विवेच्य देवी-प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। उसके दायें ऊर्ध्व हाथ में पाश, बायें ऊर्ध्व हाथ में अंकुश और दायें निम्न हाथ में आम्रलुम्बि का अंकन है तथा उसका बायाँ निम्न हाथ एक बालक को गोद में लिए हुए है। एक अन्य बालक अधोवस्त्रयुक्त है और देवी की दायीं ओर स्थानक मुद्रा में निरूपित है। ललितासन में विराजमान देवी का बायाँ पैर एक बैठे हुए सिंह की पीठ पर है तथा लटकता हुआ दायाँ पैर एक पीठिका पर टिका है। देवी के कानों में गोल कुण्डल तथा गले में पेंडेंटयुक्त हार शोभायमान है। देवी डमरुनुमा आसन पर बैठी हुई हैं। कीरीटयुक्त देवी सौम्यस्वरूपा माता के रूप में निरूपित है। दो पुत्रों के साथ ही आम्रलुम्बि का अंकन उनके मातृस्वरूप को दर्शाता है और सिंह उनके शक्तिभाव का द्योतक है। देवी की प्रतिमा एक परिकर के मध्य में है जिसका ऊपरी भाग त्रिकोणीय है। परिकर के ऊपरी भाग में देवी के सिर के ऊपर ध्यानमुद्रा में आसीन एक तीर्थंकर का अंकन है। प्रतिमाशास्त्र के आधार पर इस देवी का अभिधान जैन देवी अम्बिका के साथ किया जा सकता है जो 22वें तीर्थंकर नेमिनाथ की यक्षी हैं। देवी के गोद में बैठे बालक की पहचान प्रियंकर और देवी के समीप खड़े हुए बालक की पहचान शुभंकर के रूप में की जा सकती है। यह प्रतिमा निःसंदिग्ध रूप से श्वेताम्बर जैन-परम्परा से सम्बन्धित है। अम्बिका के करों में आम्रलुम्बि एवं पुत्र के साथ पाश और अंकुश का अंकन स्पष्टतः श्वेताम्बर जैन-परम्परा के ग्रंथों में निर्दिष्ट है।⁵ इस प्रतिमा के पृष्ठभाग पर उत्कीर्ण लेख की प्रथम पंक्ति में प्राप्त 'ऊकेश' शब्द से भी इसी तथ्य का समर्थन होता है। मध्यकाल में उपकेशपुर⁶ और ओसवाल जाति को 'ऊकेश' नाम से भी जाना जाता था। उपकेशपुर को आज 'ओसिया' के नाम से जानते हैं, जो राजस्थान प्रांत

के जोधपुर से 52 किमी० उत्तर-पश्चिम में स्थित है। ओसवाल जैन-वणिकों की उत्पत्ति यहीं से हुई मानी जाती है। उपकेशपुर से ही श्वेताम्बर श्रमण संघ की एक प्रसिद्ध शाखा 'उपकेशगच्छ' का उदय 13-14वीं शताब्दी में हुआ। यह गच्छ तीर्थंकर पार्श्वनाथ से अपनी परम्परा को जोड़ता है।⁷

श्वेताम्बर जैन-पुरास्थलों पर छठी-सातवीं शताब्दी से अम्बिका की स्वतंत्र और जिन-संयुक्त मूर्तियों का उत्कीर्णन मिलता है, किन्तु दिगम्बर जैन-स्थलों पर इस देवी की प्रारम्भिकतम स्वतंत्र मूर्ति बुन्देलखंड में देवगढ़ (उ०प्र० में ललितपुर जनपद) से मन्दिर-संख्या 12 से नवीं शती की मिली है। बुन्देलखण्ड सनातनी-बहुल क्षेत्र है, किन्तु इस क्षेत्र में चन्देल-काल (9-13वीं शती) से ही दिगम्बर जैन धर्मानुयायी बहुसंख्या में आबाद हैं, श्वेताम्बर परम्परा को माननेवालों की संख्या बहुत कम रही है। इस क्षेत्र में प्राप्त सभी मन्दिर और मूर्तियाँ, सनातन-परम्परा के अतिरिक्त, दिगम्बर जैन-परम्परा की ही हैं। कर्वी के समीप रामनगर से ध्यानमुद्रा में एक जिन-मूर्ति प्राप्त है तथा मडफा से जैन-मन्दिर और अभिलिखित मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं। ये सभी दिगम्बर-परम्परा से सम्बन्धित हैं।⁸ दिगम्बर जैन-परम्परावाले क्षेत्र में किसी श्वेताम्बर-परम्परा की मूर्ति की प्राप्ति ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण है। प्रतीत होता है कि 17वीं शती में सुर्कियों अथवा 19वीं शती में मराठों के काल में कोई श्वेताम्बर जैन वणिक व्यवसाय के लिए तरौहा-कर्वी में बसा होगा, जो 1857-'58 ई० के विप्लव में ब्रतानी सैनिकों की लूटपाट के दौरान पलायन करते समय पूर्वजों से प्राप्त इस मूर्ति को ले जाना भूल गया होगा। बाद में यह मूर्ति द्विवेदीजी के पूर्वजों के हाथ में लग गयी और आज तक सुरक्षित है।

प्रतिमा के पृष्ठभाग पर उत्कीर्ण लेख (विक्रम) संवत् 1528 अर्थात् 1471-'72 ई० का है। इसमें कुमार के लिए 'को०', भार्या के लिए 'भा०' और प्रणमंति के लिए 'प्र०' संकेताक्षरों तथा 'ख' अक्षर के लिए 'ष' का प्रयोग हुआ है। इस लेख में ओसवालजातीय कुमार मना और उसकी पत्नी लखमाई के पुत्र लाखमसिंह और उसकी पत्नी रूपई के पुत्र जिणपाल और उसकी पत्नियों— पाल्हु, धनाई तथा मनाई का उल्लेख है। जिणपाल और उसकी पत्नी मनाई के पुत्र जागराज ने अपनी पत्नी रूपई और परिवार के साथ श्रेय के लिए अम्बिका मूर्ति और श्वेताम्बर जैनाचार्यों (सूरिभिः) को प्रणाम निवेदित किया है। लेख की लिपि नागरी और भाषा संस्कृत-मिश्रित हिंदी अपभ्रंश है।

पाठ :

परिकर पर बायें से दायें नीचे-ऊपर-नीचे की ओर :

1. सं० 1528 वर्षे ऊकेश को० मना भा० लखमाई सुत को० लाखमसिंहेन भा० रूपई सुत जिणपाल को० भा० पाल्हु

परिकर पादपीठ पर नीचे :

2. धनाई मनाई सुत जागराज प्र० कुटुं-
3. बयुतेन स्वभार्य (स्वभार्या) रूणई श्रेयोर्धा (श्रेयार्थ) श्रीअं-
4. बिकामूर्तिकाय प्र. सूरिभिः [॥]

सन्दर्भ :

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भूषण कवि पदवी दई हृदयराम सुत रुद्र ॥'
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Citrakūṭa : Sacred landscape, holy spots and shrines

Vandana Dubey *



Reading the landscape is a humane art, unrestricted to any profession, unbounded by any field, unlimited in its challenges and pleasures.¹ As J.B. Jackson points out, when the term landscape was first introduced in English, it meant a picture of a

view, an artist's interpretation. The word's meaning gradually changed to represent the view itself.² Sanskrit dictionaries offer *bhū*, *bhūmi*, *sthala*, *kṣetra* words as translation of *landscape* in the South Asian context. None of these terms mean a view; they connote land and demarcated area. They imply not aesthetic pleasure, but land measured and appropriated for divine and human purpose. The term landscape has undergone change in its connotation from attractive natural scenery to any humanly ordered modification of natural environment. Landscape studies seek to understand cultural and ecological forces shaping the land. Landscape is more than physical setting and goes beyond merely facilitating human activities. It can be observed and interpreted as representation- sign and symbol- that encodes meanings. 'It represents cultural narratives, communicating central tenets of culture and ways of life.'³ A landscape can be read by looking for consistent patterns of forms and meanings. The symbolism of sacred landscape creates a faith scape that encompasses sacred place, time, ritual and embodies both symbolic and tangible psyche in an attempt to realize

humankind's identity in the cosmos. The earth spirit is believed to reside in mountains, caves, water-bodies and vegetation. Many sacred places in India can be interpreted in terms of natural archetypes- trees, mountains, caves, rivers and springs- evoking meanings encapsulated in the symbolism of centre of cosmogony; and Citrakūṭa is no exception.

Citrakūṭa, a place of Hindu pilgrimage for millennia on the river Mandākinī, spread over the two States of U.P. and M.P., has been significantly empowered by its association with Lord Rāma who with his brother Lakṣmaṇa and wife Sītā, spent the first stage of his fourteen-year exile in his wanderings through the wilderness. The *kṣetra* is named after the Citrakūṭa hill, which is a part of the Vidhyān spur and the centre of the holy zone. The river Mandākinī and the rivulet Payasvinī carve a valley in this hilly landscape, meeting near the township of Sītāpur which is 8 km distant from Karwi, the headquarters of the Citrakūṭa district in U.P. Besides caves and springs, the two landscape elements considered most sacred in Hindu tradition- river confluences and hills- are present in the region. Their significance to pilgrims undoubtedly derives from events narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, such as Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa's stay in a thatched cottage near the Citrakūṭa hill; their meetings with sages including Atri and his wife Anasūyā; Bharata's arrival with news of their father's death; Rāma's meeting with his brother Bharata, mothers and others; Rāma's refusal to be coronated; and Bharata's return with Rāma's sandals to Ayodhyā.

Power of the Place

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Citrakūṭa is a *tīrtha* of captivating beauty, associated with dramatic features of the physical landscape full of meanings. When Rāma arrived at Citrakūṭa and beheld the pleasant and captivating hill as well as the river Mandākinī, full of various animals and birds in the forest abounding in roots and fruits and transparent springs, in his pleasure at the sight, he forgot his former luxuries at the royal palace in Ayodhyā.⁴ He commented to Sītā, “On the mount of Citrakūṭa, rendered pleasant by a profusion of flowers and fruits, whose delightful peak echoes with the sweet songs of birds, I am content to dwell.”⁵ “This mount of Citrakūṭa in variety of flowers and transparent waters, has surpassed the capital of the gods in loveliness.”⁶ Scenes of natural beauty are described vividly in the *Rāmāyaṇa* thus :

“Behold the loveliness of these peaks abounding in metals of various kinds, reaching the skies and frequented by birds of every species. These peaks, some of which shine like silver, some of which are ruddy, some yellow, some glittering with the splendor of the brilliant gems concealed in them, some sparkling with sapphire and crystal, some resembling quick silver and glittering like the stars. Though many lions and leopards abound in the forest, yet influenced by the pure nature of the ascetics dwelling here, they have ceased to follow their cruel instincts.”⁷

The power of the place is extolled in highest terms when Rāma says to Sītā :

“When I behold the Citrakūṭa hill and the river Mandākinī in company with you, I esteem it a greater joy than any that Ayodhyā could yield me.”⁸

The celebrated saint-poet Tulasīdāsa had a deep emotional attachment to Citrakūṭa since he is said to be born at Rājāpura on the right bank of the Yamunā river, 45 km far from Citrakūṭa. He visited the place several times and was ultimately rewarded by being granted two divine visions of his beloved Lord Rāma in Citrakūṭa. He not only refers to it frequently in several of his works but also describes it in detail in his *Gītāvalī* where he sings its glory thus:

“Sages, their wives, entranced by woods, of Rāma's pure spotless glory sing. They earn the fruit of life on earth, which tears, delight and rapture bring. What words can describe

its beauty, wealth, delight and might. Tulasī, where Rāma, Delight's abode, dwell with Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā in sight.”⁹

When Bharata went to Citrakūṭa barefoot in his attempt to persuade Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, their reunion was a sight for the gods to see and rejoice. R.C. Shukla remarks, “The impact of the touching scene of their meeting lends piety to the charming environment of Citrakūṭa. The divine light that shoots forth from the interaction of qualities like morality, affection, modesty, humility, and sacrifice within that assembly illuminates the entire atmosphere. The sweet memories of that meeting seem to cast a pious spell over the entire forest land even today. What transpired at the assembly at Citrakūṭa was a perfect manifestation of virtue in all its aspects.”¹⁰

The sacred landscape contains numerous footprints of Rāma and has been called Rāmasthāna¹¹ which, in the words of Tulasīdāsa, is adorned with the footprints of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu : *prabhu pada ankita avani vīseṣī*.¹² Because a visit destroys grief, Citrakūṭa has been compared to a medicine by Tulasīdāsa; the mere sight of which makes one cured: *Citrakūṭa ek aushdhī citavat hota sachet*. The famous Hindi poet Rahīma, who was also a courtier and army commander in the times of two Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr, once fell into disgrace with Jahāngīr and was banished from the Mughal court. He is said to have come to Citrakūṭa, living there *incognito* serving a shopkeeper who used to sell parched grains to the visitors. He has exclaimed, “Citrakūṭa once gave shelter to Rāma when he was exiled from Ayodhyā and now it has given shelter to Rahīma. Indeed, whosoever is in trouble first runs to this place for solace.”¹³

Sacred Topography

The sacred place of Citrakūṭa consists of a network of sacred sites covering some 20 km, which are interconnected by pilgrimage routes, myths and traditions. The design of the *tīrtha* was not planned under any imperial imperative nor was it the result of a chance build-up of isolated and unrelated sites. A variety of hills, caves, springs, and pools in the Citrakūṭa area are holy spots and are thus components of the sacred landscape. The main reason of recognizing the individual holy spots is that the pilgrims gradually experience the natural grandeur, spiritual meaning, history of Rāma's exile,

and power of the place as they move through the landscape of Citrakūṭa. This is in conformity with the longing in the heart of Bharata who, when there, sought permission of Rāma to go and see Citrakūṭa with its holy spots and woods, birds and beasts, pools and streams, springs and hills and particularly the land marked with Rāma's footprints. Thus observes Tulasīdāsa, 'Bharata and his fellow companions roamed about with devotion and austerity in the forest. The holy ponds and tracts of land, the birds and beasts, the trees and grasses, the hills, woods and orchards were charming, wonderful and pre-eminently holy. Seeing them all divine, Bharata asked questions about them and was told by sages the origin, name, attributes and purifying virtues of each. Taking a dip at one place they made obeisance at another; here they beheld sights that were ravishing to the soul, while there they sat down with the permission of the sages and thought of Sītā and the two brothers. Bharata thus visited all the holy spots in five days.'¹⁴ Its significance to pilgrims undoubtedly derives from events narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa*.

Vālmiki (3rd century BCE) and Kālidāsa (5th century CE) describe Citrakūṭa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvamśa* respectively, but as with other Ramaite sites, it only attained popularity in the sixteenth century when Tulasīdāsa (CE 1540-1623) extolled its virtues in his *Rāmacaritamānasa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes Citrakūṭa hill, Mandākinī river, Parṇasālā (leaf-hut) of Rāma and Atri āśrama; while the *Raghuvamśa* notices only the first two there. The *Mahābhārata* (1st century BCE-1st century CE) supplies a list of five holy spots in the sacred landscape- Citrakūṭa hill, Mandākinī river, Bhartristhāna, Koṭitīrtha, Jyeshthasthāna; the *Padmapurāṇa* contains the names of Mandākinī river, Citrakūṭa hill, Guhasthāna, Koṭitīrtha and Yaśasthāna; *Agnipurāṇa* mentions Citrakūṭa hill, Parṇasālā, Mandākinī river and Manaḥsilā. The *Śivapurāṇa* refers to Mattagayendraka, Kotīśa and Atreśvara *lingas* there. The *Bhūṣuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa* (14th century CE) refers to the sanctity of four spots-Citrakūṭa hill, Mandākinī river, Atri āśrama and Śreshthasthāna. The *Rāmacaritamānasa* enumerates Citrakūṭa hill, Mandākinī river, Parṇakuṭī, Sphaṭikaśilā, Atri āśrama and Bharatakūpa only. Thus, all the early texts consulted describe a few out of many holy spots and shrines described in later texts. With the composition of the *Citrakūṭamāhātmyam* in the eighteenth century,

more holy spots were added to the sacred place. In this text the sacred topography extends from Siddhāśrama in the east to Kālaśjar in the west, a distance of more than 80 km; and Sūryakuṇḍa in the north to śarabhaṅga āśrama near Virasimhpur in the south, a distance of 50 km.¹⁵ However, it especially recommends a visit to Koṭitīrtha, Hanumānadhārā, Atritīrtha, Bharatakūpa and Kāmadagiri.¹⁶ The *Citrakūṭamāhātmya Bhāṣā* (composed by Mohanadāsa in 1841 CE) further broadens the sacred territory of the *tīrtha* which is said to extend from Vālmiki āśrama in the east to Kālaśjar in the west, a distance of 100 km and from Sūryakuṇḍa in the north to Sūtikshṇa āśrama in the south, a distance of 65 km. As in the *Mahābhārata*, Purāṇas and *Bhūṣuṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa*, Kālaśjar is separately mentioned as a *tīrtha* distinct from Citrakūṭa and the *Rāmāyaṇa* has placed the Śarabhaṅga and Sūtikshṇa āśramas in the Daṇḍakāraṇya and Vālmiki āśrama outside the sacred zone, their inclusion in the sacred landscape of Citrakūṭa seems unwarranted in the later *māhātmyas*. Even the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmya Bhāṣā* has defined at one place the sacred landscape extending from Koṭitīrtha at Sankarshaṇa hill in the east to Rāmaseja at Sudarśana hill in the west and from Brahmapurī in the north to Atri āśrama in the south.¹⁷ Our surveys in 2010-11 show that of many holy spots described in the late *māhātmya* texts only 12 remain popular. Seven of these spots, *viz.* Citrakūṭagiri, Koṭitīrtha, Mandākinī, Sphaṭikaśilā, Atri āśrama, Siddhāśrama and Bharatakūpa are mentioned in early texts and are frequently visited by devout pilgrims who go through the ceremonies of bathing, *pūjā*, and meditation at each of them. The other five spots- Sītākuṇḍa, Devāṅganā, Rāmaśaiyyā, Hanumānadhārā and Gupta Godāvarī are more recent, having gained popularity since the eighteenth century, mainly due to the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmya* eulogy. Thus, the sacred landscape of the *tīrtha* extends from Siddhāśrama in the east to Bharatakūpa in the west and from Rāmaghāṭa at Sītāpura in the north to Atri āśrama- Gupta Godāvarī in the south. Unlike Kashi and Braja, Citrakūṭa did not develop a major circumambulatory path enclosing the sacred zone due to its difficult terrain.

Following Bharata's instance, now pilgrims travelling on foot may take five days to visit the holy spots, spending the first day on bathing in the Mandākinī at Rāmaghāṭa and circumambulating

the Kāmadagiri and visiting shrines in Sītāpura. Their second day journey starts by bathing in the Mandākinī at Rāmaghāṭa, visiting Siddhāśrama, Koṭitīrtha, Devāṅganā, Sītārasoī, Hanumānadhārā and ends at Sītāpur. The third day journey again begins by a bath at Rāmaghāṭa and follows a visit to Sītākunḍa, Sphaṭikaśilā and Atri āśrama and ends in the village of Bābupurwā, 7 km west of Atri āśrama. On the fourth day pilgrims go to Gupta Godāvarī and stay in the nearby Chaubepur village. Last day they go from Chaubepur to Bharatakūpa, afterwards visiting Rāmaśaiyyā they come to Sītāpura and complete the *yātrā*. Such pilgrimages often use Sītāpura as the base station and involve walks up to 20 km per day.¹⁸ The effluent ones cover the journey to these holy spots in vehicles after performing the barefoot *parikramā* of the Kāmadagiri, and complete it in two days. From 2011-12 cycle rickshaws have been introduced on the paved path for the convenience of the aged and infirm pilgrims to perform the circumambulation ritual. Partly because of its distance, 35 km from Sītāpur and absence of a holy spot on the route, Vālmiki āśrama is not included in such a walking venture. Similarly, pilgrims rarely go to Sūryakunḍa, which is unfit for bathing due to regular consignment of dead-bodies by villagers in it and absence of any holy spot on the 10 km stretch between Sītāpura and it. It is also highly dangerous to bathe in the deep *kunḍa* there. There is only an āśrama established in early 1950s by a sādhu named Kamalanayanadāsa *alias* Phalāhārī Bābā from Ayodhyā, who started the *akhaṇḍa-kīrtana* on March 19, 1958 which is continuously going on with the support of local villagers.

Holy spots and shrines

Kāmadagiri

This is one of the many hills which form the northernmost spur of the Vindhya mountain. Its name Citrakūṭa (from *citra*, of variegated colour, and *kūṭa*, hill) is said to have been given to it because of numerous different coloured stones found on it. Sedimentary strata of sandstone and limestone in which lava intrusions had later penetrated are represented in it. Several types of granites can also be recognized including pink and grey feldspar. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the hill “as adorned by thousands of blue, yellow, purple and white rocks. At night, the healing herbs shine like fire, lighting the crags with their radiance.”¹⁹

It is one of the most exalted hills in the pantheon of sacred mountains of the Indian subcontinent (Figs. 1 & 1A). The mere beholding of its summit is claimed to lead to one's welfare and freedom from ignorance.²⁰

The *Varāhapurāṇa* holds that on the Citrakūṭa hill Rāma is always regarded as Lord Viṣṇu,²¹ the *Narasimhapurāṇa* speaks of Narādhipa Rāma as being worshipped there and the *Agnipurāṇa* says that Viṣṇu under the name of Rāghava (Rāma as the scion of Raghu's race) is propitiated there.²² Therefore, Tulasidāsa has rightly called it Rāmaśaila, Hill of Rāma: *Rāmasaila vana dekhana jāhī, jāhā sukha sakala sakala dukha nāhī*.²³ “Beholding the beauty of the Rāmaśaila, Bharata's heart overflowed with love even as an ascetic who has reaped the fruit of his penance rejoices on the completion of his vow.”²⁴ It is popularly known as Kāmadagiri, the hill which grants desires. This epithet of Citrakūṭa may date back to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, for Tulasidāsa has remarked: “Since the time Rāma set his feet on this hill, it was turned into a wish-fulfilling one. A simple sight of it is capable of dispelling sorrow and disgrace.”²⁵ Tulasidāsa describes Citrakūṭa as a giver of relief from all types of sufferings and as a remover of falsehood, symbolized as a green Wish-fulfilling Tree bestowing well-being to the visitor.²⁶ Its natural scenery and mystic power vanquish all kinds of ignorance and provide relief from sins.²⁷ The first glimpse of the hill also gives happiness and purifies the mind, the reason that many ascetics seek shelter there.²⁸ Yet there is another and older tradition of worshipping Citrakūṭa as Kāmadanātha, who is not identified with Rāma, Śiva, or the goddess. Diana Eck suggests that this older tradition represents an ancient Yakṣa cult that was incorporated into Viṣṇu *bhakti* similar to the worship of Mount Govardhana in Braja.²⁹

The hill is described as rich in flora and fauna surrounded by various bodies of water. It is the hill near which Rāma built his hut of leaves and grasses (*parṇakuṭī*) to reside during his exile and is considered holy not only due to its association with Rāma, but also because of its natural bow-shaped form symbolizing Rāma's bow. The *Bhaṭṭikāvya* portrays it as so high that it bars the passage of the sun³⁰, a description comparable to that of the Vindhya in the *Skandapurāṇa*.³¹ In fact, 315 m height of the rounded hill is insufficient to bar the sun at

noon during any day of the year. The *Jātakas* refer to it as a pleasant and spotless place.³²

Around the base of the hill, a stone-paved pathway was constructed by Cānda Kuṁvarī, a queen of the Bundela chief Chatrasāla in 1725 CE and was repaired in 1897 CE by the British government³³ and a philanthropist from Calcutta in 1980s. In 2009-10 the M.P. and U.P. State Governments not only broadened and paved the path with the Kota-stones, but also provided shades over it at intervals for saving the devotees from the sun-rays and rains. The entry point to the *pradakṣiṇā* path is Mukhāravinda, a temple containing the stone face of Lord Rāma (Fig.2). The spot where Bharata met Rāma and was embraced by him lies on the southern portion of the encircling path of this hill. The ground at the site, Bharata Milāpa, is broken and cracked due, according to the tradition, to the heat and energy generated by the meeting.

1. Kāmadanātha (Mukhāravinda), 2. Pañcamukhī Hanumān, 3. Vanavāsī Rāma, 4. Gaṇeśa, 5. Narasimha, 6. Agni, 7. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, 8. Naraharidāsa, 9. Sabhā Darbāra Vasiṣṭha, 10. Dhanurdhārī Rāma, 11. Sākṣīgopāla, 12. Badrīnārāyaṇa, 13. Bharata-Janaka Milāpa, 14a. Hanumān, b. Rāma Vaikuṇṭha, 15. Dvārakādhiśa, 16. Sītārāma, 17a. Rāma Baiṭhaka, b. Kāmadhenu (cave), 18. Bharata Milāpa, 19. Rāma Jharokhā, 20. Siddha Hanumān, 21. Rāma, 22. Rāma-Jānakī, 23a. Harihara, b. Rāma, 24. Baḍe Hanumān, 25. Bāvanī Dvārakādhiśa, 26. Vijaya Hanumān, 27. Rāma-Jānakī, 28. Sarayūdhārā, 29. Vijaya Rāghava (& Hanumān, Mahāprabhu Baiṭhaka), 30. Jagadīśa Rāma, 31. Baladāu & Bihārījī, 32. Kausalyā Milāpa, and 33. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. (see Fig. 1A)

Initially there were 33 shrines along the right (the inner edge) of the circumambulatory path. When Dubey and Rana and Malville surveyed the circumambulatory path in 1994 the number of shrines had increased to 56,³⁴ which has now gone beyond 80. In Hindu mythology the gods are usually stated to be of 33 types, divided according to the three divisions- Earth, Sky and Heaven of the universe. Some pilgrims perform the ceremony of *parikramā* around the hill by measuring the circuit by their bodies extended flat on the ground; others simply walk barefoot. The *jāgirdāra* of Kāmtā-Rajolā used to levy a pilgrim-tax of one *paisā* per head on the devotees performing the *parikramā*

since CE 1813-14, which was abolished in CE 1956 due to the stiff resistance meted out by a noted mustle man named Lala Ramkishor Shukla of Mahotrā village on the Atarrā-Banda Road. The ritual of *pradakṣiṇā* of the hill dates back to the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which describes its circumambulation by Bharata before leaving for Ayodhyā with the sandals of Rāma³⁵ and vigorously revived in the time of Tulasidāsa. According to Kālidāsa, the hill looks like a “wild bull playfully butting against a rock.”³⁶ Embodying all that was best and noblest in the world, it was regarded as 'God in an immovable form.'

Koṭitīrtha

This picturesque and wild spot lies about 7 km to the east of the Citrakūṭa hill. It is located on the hill called Saṅkarṣaṇa where a number of sages are said to have performed penances. It is characterized by lush green trees and numerous clear water springs forming a *kuṇḍa*. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*³⁷, *Padmapurāṇa*³⁸, *Śivapurāṇa*³⁹, *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam*⁴⁰ and *Citrakūṭa-māhātmya Bhāṣā*.⁴¹ According to the *Mahābhārata*, *Padmapurāṇa* and *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam*, bathing here accrues the merit of gifting away of 1,000 cows, and its circumambulation leads the devotees to the attainment of Śivaloka (the abode of Lord Śiva). In the *Śivapurāṇa* the phallic image is called Koṭīśa which bestows all boons. Koṭitīrtha was perhaps not originally associated with Citrakūṭa. It finds mention at many sacred places in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. One point deserving special notice about it is that it is invariably counted amongst the holy spots relating to god Śiva.⁴² A modest shrine dedicated to śiva and a small stone residence of some sādhus exist there (Fig. 3).

Half a kilometer to the west of it amidst sylvan green trees is Aṅganā or Devāṅganā-tīrtha where the divine damsel Menakā is said have once practiced penance. It is noted for a perennial spring called Sarasvatī capable of destroying great sins.⁴³ Till very recently it was the only source of water for the tribal population of the village of Maraiyan on the tableland in the summer season; ladies in groups covering a distance of 5 km daily came there for fetching drinking water in earthen pots and always prayed the Almighty to save the pots from breaking even at the cost the untimely death of their husbands- *gagari na phūṭe khasam mari jāya*. A badly dilapidated stone structure once sheltering

some sādhus exists by the side of the spring. The annual journey to the spot on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra is highly recommended.⁴⁴ Till 2008-'10 these two holy spots were out of reach of the common pilgrims due to the notorious dacoits who freely roamed there.

Siddhāśrama

Two km north-east of Koṭitīrtha is Siddhāśrama now known as Bānke Siddha, lying at the head of a triangular valley enclosed by two hill ranges from three sides with an opening towards the north-east. The remote site consists of a large natural cave 100 m above the valley floor, which is reached by 221 steep steps. It is called Bhartristhāna and Guhasthāna in the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁵ and the *Padmapurāṇa*⁴⁶ respectively, where god Mahāsenā (Kārttikeya) is always present. A mere visit to it is capable of granting the fulfillment of desire, hence the name Siddhāśrama.⁴⁷ For bestowing *siddhi* to the visiting sages, śiva always dwells there.⁴⁸ The cave was the home of a celebrated saint or *siddha* who was asked by the gods to check on welfare of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa during their exile. The *siddha* declined the request saying that because of his own good deeds he deserved to be visited by Lord Rāma, not the other way around, and eventually Rāma paid him a visit. A spring emerges from the rock just above the cave which contains prehistoric rock paintings.

Hanumāndhārā

A perpetual stream falls on a large image of Hanumān carved in the high cliff at a distance of 3.8 km in the east of Citrakūṭa. The dramatically located shrine is approached by a zigzag series of 360 steps. The spring called Pātāla Gaṅgā falls on the left arm of Hanumān (Fig. 5). After he had set fire to Laṅkā, Hanumān had been unable to cool himself and came to this spring where he obtained relief. Here we encounter the explicit juxtaposition of symbols of fire and water. Not mentioned in early texts, it is first noticed in the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam* which recommends that bath in the spring, worship of Hanumān and giving gifts to Brāhmaṇas there absolve one from all sins. A visit to the shrine on Tuesday in general and Full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in particular is highly meritorious.⁴⁹ The worship ritual in the cave shrine was in the control of the Rāmbāgh Khākī Akhāḍā of Tarahuvā from pre-1732 CE as is proved by a copper-plate grant (Appendix A, No. 9, line 5). But in the time of

Mahant Rām Kisun Das mismanagement prevailed there largely due to the uninterrupted interference of the sons of one of the kepts of the Mahant. When Mahant died in CE 1946 the Caube *Jāgiradāra* of Pāldeo-Nayāgāon forcibly took possession of it and a private family trust of the ex-*Jāgirdār* is now the custodian of the shrine. The summit of the hill contains Sītārasoī, the kitchen of Sītā, a mud-thatched small structure where Sītā is believed to have prepared food for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Fig. 6). The presence of Sītārasoī, not mentioned in any text, adds an interesting dimension to the place narrative. Phyllis Herman speculates that the kitchen shrines in Chitrakūṭ and elsewhere symbolize *śakti* or the power of earth goddess Sītā—the one who transforms raw material into edible food and is the source of the bounties in Rāmarājya, the utopian reign of Rāma. As she is the ideal wife of Rāma and mother of his sons, her fertility and life-sustaining aspect is grounded in the landscape's caves or structural shrines. Like the *śakti-pīthas* where the goddess is worshiped in the form of crude stones, these sites commemorate her power in stoves, grinding-stones, and rolling pins. At Lālāpura hill, the *rasoī* is in a small cave where Sītā cooked for her sons during her second exile to Vālmiki's āśrama and at Chitrakūṭa, where Sītārasoī is built at the top of the hill and lends its name to the peak.⁵⁰

Sphaṭikaśilā

Lying 2.1 km south of Citrakūṭa, this picturesque rock of yellowish colour limestone in the Mandākinī was where Rāma and Sītā used to sit and behold the scenic beauty of the place in solitude (Fig. 7). In the *Rāmacaritamānasa* and the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam* the rock is called Sphaṭikaśilā,⁵¹ but the *ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* calls it Manahśilā.⁵² The footprints of Rāma are reputedly visible on this rock. There Rāma is believed to have plucked out with an arrow one of the eyes of Jayanta, the son of god Indra, who, in the guise of a crow, dared peck at the foot of Sītā when Rāma was in leisure in her lap.⁵³

The opening of the Grāmodaya University and the Rāwatpurā Sarkār Degree College near it in 1991 and 2004 respectively has destroyed its calm and serenity; young boys and girls toil here and their growing amorous activities are driving away pilgrims from this spot. The patch of woods there is known as Śrīṅgaravana. Nearby it to the north, is Sītākunḍa which is believed to have been sanctified



Fig. 1 : Kāmadagiri

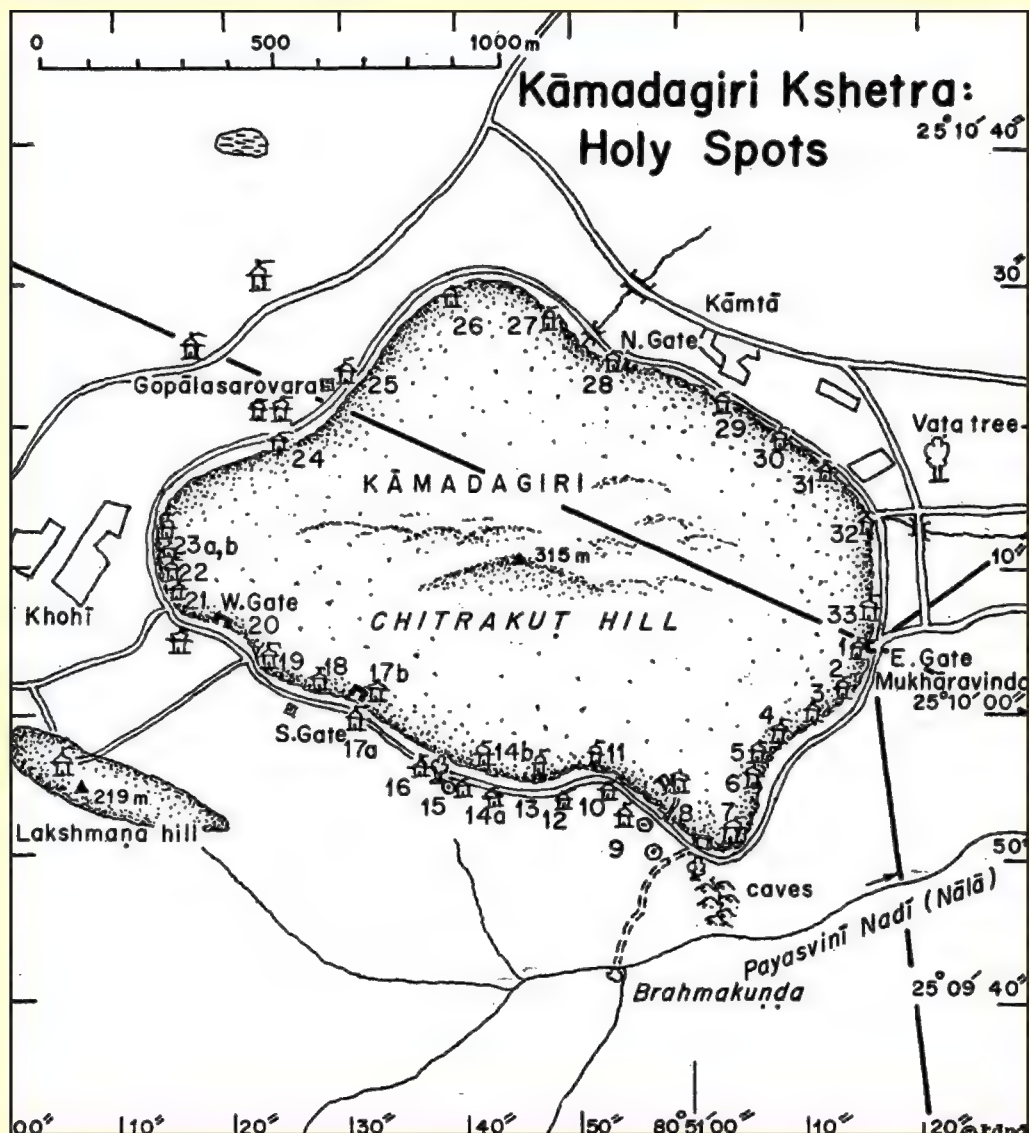


Fig.1A : Kāmadagiri-kshetra: The 33 main shrines (Courtesy: Rana Singh)



Fig. 2 : Mukhāravinda



Fig. 3 : Koṭitīrtha



Fig. 4 : Hanumān with the spring on the left in the cave



Fig. 5 : Hanumāndhārā with Sītārasoi on the top



Fig. 6 : Sphaṭikaśilā



Fig. 7 : Paramahansa Āshrama at Anasūyā

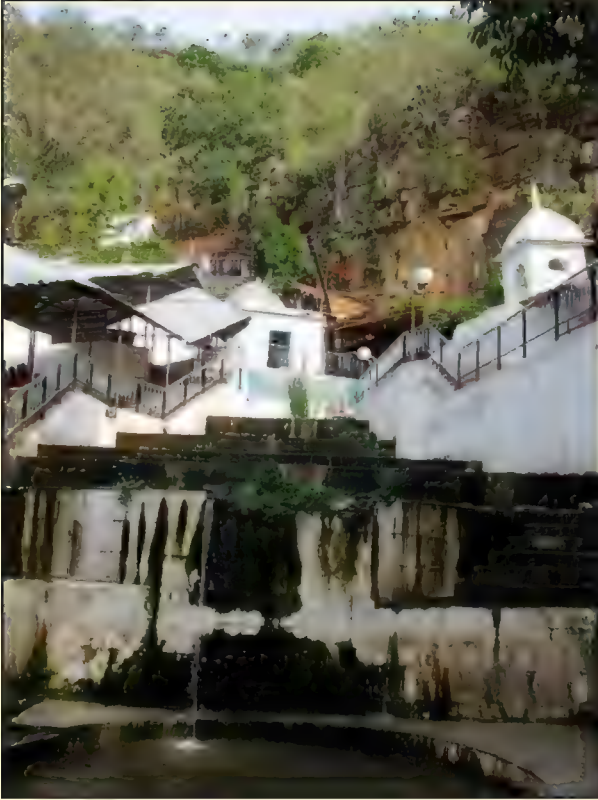


Fig. 8 : Gupt Godāvarī



Fig. 9 : Śiva-linga at the gate of the lower Gupta Godāvarī cave



Fig. 10 : Bharatakūpa



Fig. 11 : Rāmaghāt with Brahmapurī on the left bank

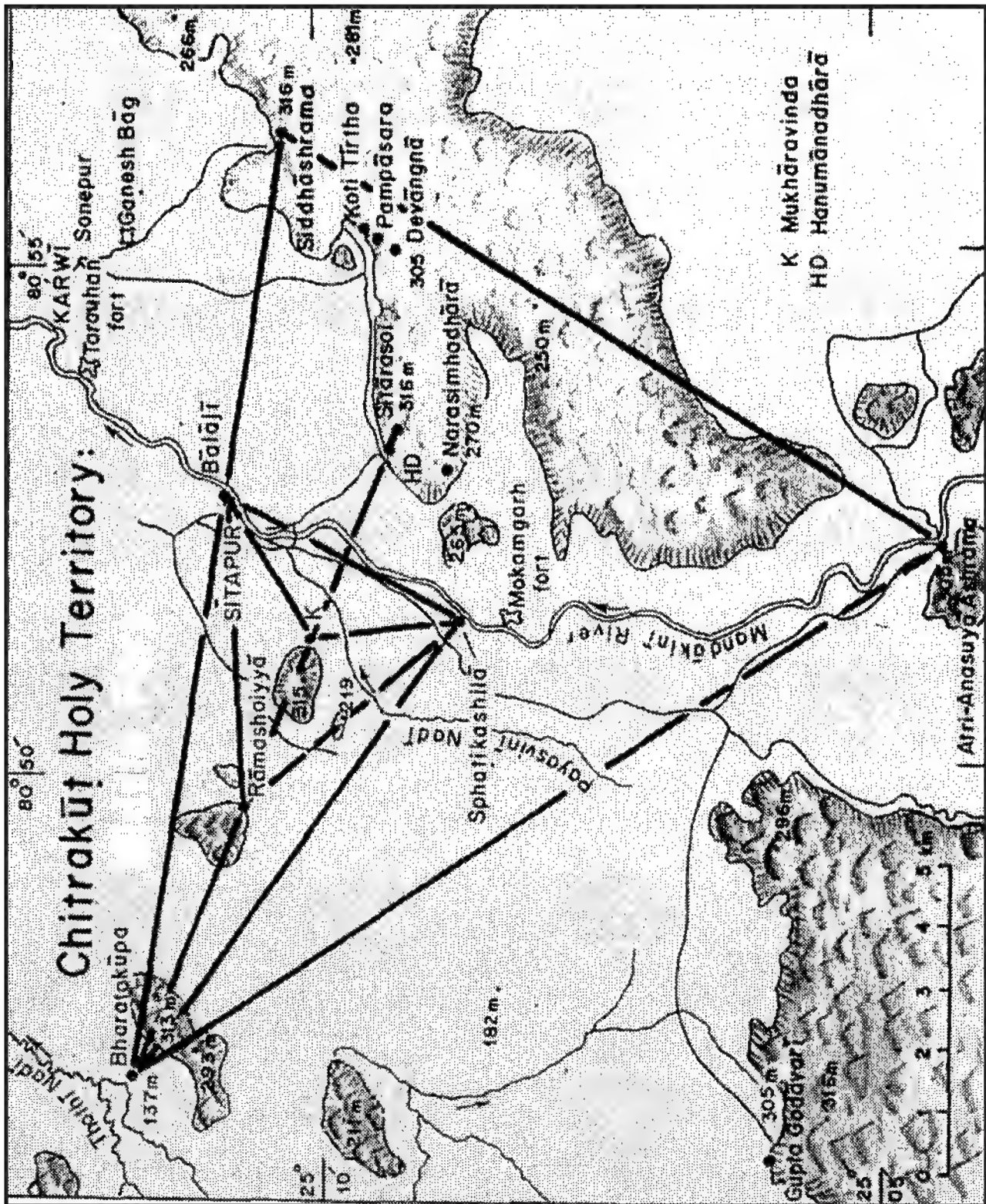


Fig. 12 : Chitrakūṭ □ a sacred Landscape (Courtesy: Rana Singh)

by Sītā's ablutions, the presence of her right footprint on a rock there commands veneration of the pilgrims.⁵⁴ It may be noted that in the *Padmapurāṇa* it is said that the primeval goddess is worshiped as Sītā in Citrakūṭa.⁵⁵ It is a favorite resort of the Rasika saints and noted for the Punjabi Bhagavān's (died in 2010) Vedāntī āśrama. Across the river, almost in front of Sītākunḍa, is the Ārogya Dhāma Ayurvedic Hospital constructed by the Goenka family in the beginning of this century.

Atri-Anasuyā Āśrama

Situated about 15 km south of Chirakūṭa, on the left bank of the Mandākinī at the foot of a hill containing numerous springs amidst a dense forest called Kāmada in the *Śivapurāṇa*⁵⁶, Atri-Anasuyā Āśrama is a place of extraordinary natural beauty. When Rāma with his wife and brother left Citrakūṭa, he visited the spot on way to the Śarabhangā Āśrama in the Daṇḍakāraṇya.⁵⁷ At the foot of the hill, the shrines of Anasuyā, Atri and Hanumān are situated and on a rock are found carved some medieval images of śiva and other deities. The river Mandākinī oozes out from this hill. It was there that Sītā was taught the ideals of faithfulness towards one's husband by Anasuyā, the foremost of the pious chaste wives of antiquity. Dattātreyā, Durvāsā and Chandra are described in the *Purāṇas*⁵⁸ as the sons of Atri and Anasuyā who compelled Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, to assume human form. According to the *Śivapurāṇa*, 'Śiva himself appeared there in the name of Atriśvara for helping people and for the happiness of Anasuyā and Gangā stays by her magical power in a pit deep only by a hand's length.'⁵⁹ Here in the river are found three rocks named Pāpamocanikā, Dāridryamocanī and Riṇamocanī, which remove sins, poverty and debts respectively of the devout visitors.⁶⁰ There are on a large basalt rock two inscriptions, one dated Samvat 1520/ CE 1463 and the other undated but apparently of the same age. Before 1950 none dared to stay there because of the presence of carnivorous animals in the surrounding forest. The site became lively when a *sādhu* named Paramahansa began to reside there permanently from 1950s. By the turn of the present century a grand concrete āśrama (Fig. 8) headed by the pontiff Bhagavānā Rāma has come up there and a good approach road connecting with the Citrakūṭa-Satnā Road has been laid out by the M.P. government.

Gupt Godāvari

This site consists of two major limestone caves situated on a hillock called Tuṅgāraṇya, 20.3 km south-west from Citrakūṭa. The first cave has a wide and spacious interior, whereas the second one below is narrow with a stream perpetually gushing out of the crevices at the end of the serpentine tunnel. The water coming out of the caves come together in the form of a stream which disappears underground (Fig.9). A bath in the stream accrues untold merits when Jupiter is in the zodiac of Leo.⁶¹ Two long inscriptions, one of 40 lines and another of 24 lines, in the Devanāgarī script of Samvat 1811/ CE 1754 are found at the entrance of the second cave. This spot is mentioned in the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam* for the first time. The presiding deity there is Śiva; a five headed *liṅga* (Fig. 10) of the Candella period from Madafā was installed at the gate of the lower cave by Rāmasimha Tiwārī in the reign of the Bundela king Amān Singh according to the inscriptions just referred above. The higher cave contains a black stone (known as Khaṭ-khaṭā Cora, corresponding to the sound made by shaking the rock) hanging loosely in its ceiling⁶² which can be pushed up and down by a bamboo pole. According to a tradition, the stone was originally a thief who tried to steal clothes of Sītā; he shall continue hanging upside down until the current *yuga* ends. In the hill are found *kunḍas* full of hot and cold water.⁶³ Electricity was made available there in 1980 and M.P. State government is making efforts to develop the site for promoting tourism.

Bharatakūpa

At a distance of 7.7 km from Citrakūṭa, the celebrated well of Bharatakūpa at the base of the Droṇācala hill is said to contain the water of all the holy rivers of India brought by Bharata for the coronation ceremony of Rāma.⁶⁴ The *Mahābhārata* and the *Padmapurāṇa* refer it as Jyeṣṭhashthāna, sacred to Śiva, where a well named Catuḥ Sāmudrika existed.⁶⁵ However, the *Bhuṣuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* names it as Śreshṭhashthāna. Ablutions in the well and worship of śiva are highly meritorious there.⁶⁶ The well possibly got the name of Bharatakūpa during the 15th-16th centuries, for Tulasīdāsa has said: "This site has brought success to the striver from time without beginning; having been obscured by time it was known to none. My servants marked this soil as rich in subterranean springs of water and dug a big well in it with a view to securing good water. By a decree of Providence the whole world has been benefitted by dropping in this

well the water from holy places and the idea of religious merit accruing from a bath in the well, which was most incomprehensible to the ordinary intellect has become easily intelligible to all. People will now call it by the name of Bharatakūpa, a well sacred to the memory of Bharata (Fig. 11). Its sanctity has been enhanced because waters from all holy places have been mixed into it. People who take a plunge into it with devotion and with due ceremony will become pure in thought, word and deed.”⁶⁷ A visit to the well on the seventh day of the month coupled with Sunday is considered meritorious.⁶⁸ The well is over shadowed by an old pipal tree and was shaded by the tin sheets in 1960s.

Paṇṣālā

It is the most intriguing problem to search out the site of the thatched hut of Rāma of antiquity. The *Rāmāyaṇa* says that 'the brothers and Sitā reached the delightful mountain Citrakūṭa and decided to dwell there. Lakṣmaṇa brought different kinds of trees and built a leaf-thatched hut in a suitable spot protected from the wind.’⁶⁹ The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* notes, “Having gone to a place between the hill and the river, they selected a suitable site. There Rāma built two huts one to the south-east and the other to the north-west, both beautiful to behold.”⁷⁰ The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* states, “After bathing and offering libation of water to his departed father in the Mandākinī, Rāma went to his hut on the mountain”.⁷¹ Thus, the leaf-hut was located somewhere close to the hill. Possibly the old Mukhāravinda containing the natural rock face of Rāma at the eastern base of the hill, not the present one facing north which owes its origin to the politician-saint Mahant Premapujārī Dāsa (died in 2010) of the Nirmohī Akhādā in 1970s, represents the site of yore; 'east is the direction from which many beneficial forces emanate.’⁷² But the *Rāmacaritamānasa* suggests another site near a good descent of the river and says, 'Lakṣmaṇa surveyed the western bank of the Payasvinī river where a rivulet bends round this bank into a bow with the river itself for its string. Armed with this bow mount Citrakūṭa looked like an immovable huntsman. Rāma was delighted to see the site. They made a pair of huts of leaves and grass which were lovely beyond words, the one a fine little cottage and the other larger in size.’⁷³ Thus, Tulasīdāsa seems to locate the site of the hut on the high mound at Rāmaghāṭa on river; a spot in the north compound of Mattagayendra shrine is today pointed out as

Paṇṇakuṭī of Rāma and the mound is still encircled by a rivulet (now a dirty nāllāh) of no length and breadth on the west and south sides.

Brahmapurī

The *Śivapurāṇa* refers to a *liṅga* named Mattagayendrakā, installed by Brahmā, at Brahmapurī in Citrakūṭa.⁷⁴ The *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam* places this twelve *āṅgula* high *liṅga* at Yajñavedī in Brahmapurī which is comparable to heaven where no sorrows exist.⁷⁵ According to the *Citrakūṭa-māhātmya Bhāṣā*, Yajñavedī of 30 *dhanuṣa* (=54.86metres) length is in the middle of Brahmapurī.⁷⁶ Mattagayendra, the guardian deity of the sacred landscape, does not seem to be an indigenous one. He is the original guardian Yakṣa deity of Rāmakoṭa in Ayodhyā⁷⁷ and seems to have been transposed here later on. Brahmapurī is the old Brāhmaṇical settlement at Rāmaghāṭa on the left bank of the Mandākinī (Fig. 12) where B.B. Lal picked up shards of Northern Black Polished Ware datable to the seventh century BCE.⁷⁸ It was named Jaisinghpurā by the Kachavāhā Raja Sawai Jaisingh II of Jaipur when he was made *subedar* of Bundelkhand in the time of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. In 1739 CE Amān Singh, the Bundela Raja of Pannā, gifted it to Mahant Caraṇadāsa who changed the name to Sitāpura in honour of Sitā.⁷⁹ Nowadays the area of Sitāpura is largely occupied by buildings, mostly temples, *maṭhas* and residences of the *tīrtha*-priests. In the northern extremity of the settlement is the famous Bālājī temple, a two storey large brick structure in the Bundela style of architecture, which possesses a *fīrmān* issued by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in its favour.⁸⁰

Pattern in the Landscape

D.P. Dubey, Rana P.B. Singh and John Malville have studied the spatial alignments in the landscape with the help of Global Positioning System of satellites (GPS) in 1994 and consider “the intersection of mytho-historic traditions with the natural landscape to be of great interest and continuing puzzle.” The sacred sites of Citrakūṭa fall into a pattern of three interlocking isosceles triangles. Their alignments mark the sunrise and sunset on solstice. Singh calls them “cosmic geometries” since they connect different levels of the cosmos-macrocosm of stars, plants, moon, and sun; mesocosm of the natural landscape; and microcosm of city, temple, home, and body. The largest triangle is formed by Vālmiki Āśrama, Atri-Anusūyā āśrama, and Bharatakūpa.

Bharatakūpa, Sphaṭikaśilā, and Bālājī in turn constitute another triangle containing the innermost triangle formed by Kāmadagiri, Bālājī and Sphaṭikaśilā. The arms of the largest triangle are roughly equal- the distance between Vālmiki Āśrama to Atri-Anusūyā āśrama and Bharatakūpa are 29.4 kilometers and 32.15 kilometers, respectively. The second isosceles triangle has sides of 9.3 and 9.6 kilometers and the third has sides of 2.4 and 2.7 kilometers (Fig. 13). Nine sites lie on the bisector of the largest triangle, which stretches for 30 kilometers between Vālmiki Āśrama and Gupta Godāvarī. It aligns with the direction of sunrise on summer solstice. The bisector of the second triangle, extending from Bharatakūpa to Hanumāndhārā, aligns with the sunset on summer solstice.⁸¹ A similar use of triangles is found in other sacred places associated with Rāma such as Vijayanagara.⁸² The natural topography of the place has interacted with mythology to generate a complex geometry consisting of a circular *pradakṣiṇā* route around the Citrakūṭa hill and a series of interlocking triangles which are linked to the positions of the sun at winter and summer solstices.⁸³

Are the triangles, constituted by visual axes, *yantras* inscribed on the landscape to gather sacred spots into a meaningful pattern? The *Citrakūṭa-māhātmyam* describes the triangles as Rāma's bow and arrow. 'The three interlocking triangles may be understood to be homologous to the three levels of the cosmos, i.e. heaven, earth and netherworld. With the Ramaite icons embedded in the landscape, with the support of his devotee Hanumān, Rāma is ready to provide power of peace and satisfaction, destroying ignorance for those who are ready to realize the natural mystic power preserved at this place.'⁸⁴ Rana P.B. Singh, in another context, that of Vindhyačhal's hilly range, shows the *yantra* embedded in the three goddess shrines of Lakṣmī, Kālī, and Aṣṭabhujā (Sarasvatī). Here the triangle is the goddess's aniconic form, her *yantra* a mystical diagram used for concentration.⁸⁵ It is likely that the discovery of these sacred sites was aided by a pre-existing, extraordinary configuration of natural established by sight lines and equivalent distance. This supports the idea of Eliade the consecrated space is not intentionally chosen or discovered but 'reveals' itself; and because of special features within a complex of landscape, tradition and belief a site becomes an 'inexhaustible source of power and sacredness' and may operate according to the 'law of

its own dialectic.'⁸⁶

At Citrakūṭa, the pilgrim's belief that he is indeed at the center of the universe is strengthened by experiencing the sunrise and sunset on hills. On Kāmadagiri hill, centre of the *kṣetra*, he would see the summer solstice sunrise near Bālājī and the winter solstice sunrise near Hanumāndhārā. On the summit of the hill at Sītārasoī near Hanumāndhārā, he would see the summer solstice sunrise near Vālmiki Āśrama hill and sunset above Kāmadagiri. Indeed the hill summits appear to graze the skies and bring about the sun's birth and death. Kāmadagiri- which means "hill that grants desires"- is particularly significant because it derives its power from being the location of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa's huts and is therefore the *axis mundi*. The stone-paved circumambulatory pathway around the hill (4.5 kilometers long) takes the pilgrim to more than eighty temples, including the four Mukhāravindas, which are located in the cardinal directions. As the pilgrim navigates this path, he retraces the steps of Bharata. The individual sites in Citrakūṭa are marked by "symbolic redundancy", containing multiple layers of meaning, combining geography, local traditions, and epic mythology. In Citrakūṭa there are no great and grandiose temples. Whatever shrines do exist there, are poor and shabby looking. The temples of Citrakūṭa were mostly constructed in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Sites on edge of *kṣetra* such as, Atri Āśrama, Gupta Godāvarī, Bharatakūpa, Koṭitirtha and Siddhāśrama, are sacred to Śiva. Chandellas, who ruled over the region from tenth to thirteenth century, built grand temples outside the sacred landscape at Goṇḍe, 3 km west of Bharatakūpa, Cara, 4 km south-west of Vālmiki Āśrama, Jhārkhaṇḍī near Tarauhā, 1.5 km south-west of Karwi, and Bharathaul, 2 km north of Rāmaśaiyyā; possibly because they did not wish to disturb the *tapovana* character of the land. It is notable that the sacred landscape was demarcated, differentiated and objectified into something spatially distinct.

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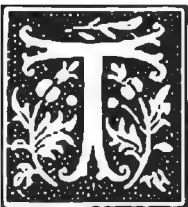


Manipur in the Freedom Struggle of 1857

Yumkhaibam Shyam Singh *

Abstract

The reverberations of 1857 Freedom Struggle (FS) had not only shaken Cachar in North-East India but also had its deep imprint on the princely kingdom of Manipur. It occurred when the F. Strugglers of the 34th Native Infantry Regiment, Chittagong, drifted towards this kingdom hoping to secure a safe shelter. Hearing about the Battle of Latoo (Karimganj, Assam), 18th December, 1857 between the British Army and the F. Strugglers, McCulloch, Political Agent at Manipur, requested Raja Chandrakirti Singh of Manipur to send his army on the border neighbouring Cachar. The army, so sent, captured many Strugglers and sent them to the British Camp to get executed. They even arrested Manipuri prince Narendrajit Singh (Sana Chahi Ahum) of Cachar, a cousin of Raja Chandrakirti Singh, who had joined the Struggle on the side of the revolvers. Later, even this prince was also sent to the British Camp in Cachar for trial under the Act XIV of 1857 Revolt. For the great role played by Raja Chandrakirti Singh in this revolt, he and his nine officers were rewarded. But, the feeling of the then Manipuri masses was indirectly on the side of the Strugglers. They opposed the British recruitment rally held in August and September 1857 for the establishment of a Manipur Regiment designed to prevent Northeast India from the revolt related events. Even a few recruits (mainly from Cachar) of the first batch of Manipur Regiment were highly suspected by the British Government, that they were shifted from the headquarters of Cherrapunjee to Jamalpore. The masses of Manipur were also said to have stated that the Strugglers, being co-religionist, would pose no harm, and so, they (Manipuris) should not shed blood for the *Ferunghees* (the British). Thus, the response of the kingdom of Manipur in the Freedom Struggle of 1857 was bi-focal in character.]



he Freedom Struggle of 1857 started at Meerut on 10th May of the same year. It soon spread all over the Gangetic plains, and even the distant kingdom of Manipur also felt the brunt of this upsurge. Indeed, this small kingdom was seriously involved

when the soldiers of the 34th Native Infantry Regiment, Chittagong, drifted towards it. Knowing the tough situation faced by the British

Government, Chandrakirti Singh, the Raja of Manipur being a close friend of the British, was deeply concerned with the matter and tried to help the British Government heart and soul. When McCulloch, Political Agent in Manipur, heard about the Battle of Latoo (Karimganj, Assam), the 18th December, 1857, between the British Army and the mutineers, he requested the Raja to send his army on the border of Cachar (now in Assam) to intercept the mutineers. The Raja instantly responded as it was stated 'That night the Raja at my request ordered 400 men under a Major to start for the Jeeree —the boundary between Cachar and Munnipore, there, to intercept the mutineers should

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they come that way.¹¹ On the other hand, the masses of Manipur were indirectly on the side of the mutineers. They opposed to the recruitment processes held in August and September 1857 for the establishment of a Manipur Regiment designed to safeguard the Northeast India from any upsurge. Besides, they also stated that the mutineers, being co-religionists, would be harmless, and so, they should not sacrifice the blood of the *Ferunghees* (the British). Thus, the then Manipuri masses were against the wishes of their Raja in this historic event.

On this event, *Cheitharol Kumbaba* (the chronicle of Manipur) mentions that on hearing the war of the Hindus against the British and the latter's march towards Manipur there were five gun shots and 600 *sepoys* under Nameirakpa Major who went and reached Jiri (a territory of Manipur neighbouring with Cachar).² The same area was also studied by Alexander Mackenzie in *The North-East Frontier of India* who noted "The conduct of the Raja during the mutiny was reported to have been praiseworthy, and the satisfaction of the Government was accordingly expressed on the subject."³ R. Brown also stated in the *Statistical Account of Manipur* "The conduct and feelings of the Raja and the majority of the officials and inhabitants were at that time good, and the Raja's offers of assistance to the British Government in case of need sincere."⁴ However, this statement of positive response of the people of Manipur contradicts the report of McCulloch made on 12th February, 1858: "Throughout these proceedings the conduct of the Raja has been most praiseworthy. He and one or two of his officers were the only men in the country who seemed to have interest in what they were doing."⁵ This vivid statement confirms that the Manipuri masses were against the British Government in the Freedom Struggle of 1857. Therefore, a critical study on the circumstances leading to this anti-British disposition of the Manipuri masses during 1857 upsurge would unveil the genesis of the serious Anglo-Manipuri conflicts in the history of Manipur. The source materials are archival, chronicles and secondary source books, and the method used is qualitative.

Response of Raja Chandrakirti Singh in 1857 Revolt

The second term of Raja Chandrakirti Singh (1850-1886) was recognised by the British Indian Government on 31st January, 1851. He, then, hoped

for a friendly relationship with the British Government so as to maintain a balance of power between Manipur and the Burmese empire, and also, to intimidate any rival claimant of the throne of Manipur. Therefore, he had the good-will of helping the British when he heard about 1857 upsurge. The Raja indeed went to meet McCulloch two times and expressed his deep feelings as it was stated: "The Raja twice called upon me. He expressed sympathy at the anxiety I must feel and horror at the atrocities he had heard of."⁶ After this, Raja Chandrakirti Singh wrote a letter in Manipuri expressing the following statements: "In a time like the present that I would to my utmost support the Sahib Lok I have thought. I have heard of what is now doing in Hindustan. Give me an order what to do. I shall do my utmost to act up to it. And please to believe my country as the Sahib Lok's own."⁷ By this time, a special narrative of the Government of Bengal expresses: "At Sylhet Mr. Allen had taken every precaution for the protection of the district. He had also written to Capt. McCulloch at Munipoor to warn the Munipoor Govt. to be prepared to attack the fugitives (Chittagong mutineers) should they found their way into the territory."⁸ On 25th December, 1857, McCulloch heard about the Battle of Latoo and requested Raja Chandrakirti Singh to send the Manipur Army towards Cachar border. Instantly, the Raja responded by sending 400 men under a major. And subsequently another 60 men were also sent as it was reported, "60 men were subsequently added on Lieutenant Stewart's stating that he had not men for the pursuit of the mutineers should they escape him."⁹

Although the Battle of Binnacandy (Cachar), fought between the British Army and the mutineers was supported by the people of Cachar under Manipuri Prince Sana Chahi Ahum (Narendrajit Singh), 12 January, 1858, the Manipur Army arrested many Chittagong mutineers and sent them to the British Camp for trial and execution. They also arrested prince Sana Chahi Ahum who had fought along with the mutineers against the British in Cachar. But the prince, instead of being sent to the British Camp, was taken to Imphal and reached the court of Raja Chandrakirti Singh on the 25th January, 1858. The Raja and his army respected Sana Chahi Ahum highly, and even they planned to save the life of the prince by keeping him in the prison of Manipur.¹⁰ But, Lieutenant Stewart (Superintendent of Cachar) sent repeated messages

to send the prince back to Cachar for trial under Act XIV of 1857 Revolt. In reply, the Raja expressed: "Although what the Sahib says 'send in this brother of yours Narendrajeet Sing' is right, still he is my brother. I apprehend him for having offended against the Sahib-Lok."¹¹ But later, when the Raja found that the popularity of Sana Chahi Ahum was gaining day by day with an increasing number of Manipuri supporters, "he (Raja) felt insecure in his position and thus sent his cousin to the British authorities in Cachar."¹² McCulloch also reported to the Government on the 17th April, 1858: "Against the pressing solicitations of his numerous relatives, and of a large party of officers and others in favour of detaining him in the country the Raja ordered Narendrajeet Sing to be removed to Cachar for delivery to the officiating Superintendent,"¹³ Indeed, the Raja responded to the British Government sending the prince to Cachar on 25th April, 1858. *Cheitharol Kumbaba* also mentions that on 25th January, 1858, king's elder brother Chahi Ahum arrived from Cachar, and on 25th April, 1858, he was sent back to Cachar.¹⁴ After it, the Raja wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Cachar where he expressed: "As the British Government has been pleased to approve of my previous conduct I earnestly hope that in consideration for me the British Government even if his fault be found a heavy one may spare his life."¹⁵ Accordingly, the British Government disposed of the prince's trial with this statement: "Narendrojeet Sing having been tried under Act No. XIV of 1857, and having apparently been found guilty of a criminal offence ought not to be treated as a state prisoner.... Honourable President in Council agrees with Lieutenant Stewart in thinking that it would be inexpedient to sentence the prisoner capitally. If imprisoned for life, it can only be the transportation beyond seas."¹⁶ Later, taking into account the role played by Raja Chandrakirti Singh in 1857 Revolt, McCulloch reported: "A sword and belt and suitable dress of honour to be given to the Rajah of Munnipore, and that they will be despatched. Also that smaller presents will be given to the officers of the Rajah."¹⁷ Accordingly, Raja Chandrakirti Singh received a sword, a belt and a robe of honour. Longjamba Roma Singh was rewarded with Mutiny Medal. Other eight Manipuri Officers namely- Chingakhumba (pukhranba), Chingakhumba (Dewan), Nepra Selungba, Sawaijamba Selungba, Nundababu (Lairikyengba Hanjaba), Nameirakpa

Major, Haojournacha Major and Gokul Thakur were given Khilluts.¹⁸ Hence, in the event of 1857 Freedom struggle, the politics of Raja Chandrakirti Singh was to confirm a close relationship with the British, and, above this, to satisfy the interest of the masses of Manipur by saving the life of prince Sana Chahi Ahum.

Anti-British mindset of Manipuri masses in 1857 Revolt

Although the Raja of Manipur supported the British Government, yet the majority of his people were against the British. It is a fact that the Manipuri masses did not like to shed blood for the British fighting against the Chittagong mutineers. This feeling of Manipuri masses could be assessed from this report of McCulloch to the Secretary, Govt. of India, dated, the 12th February, 1858: "During the last two days the common conversation of the Munniporees has been in a style shewing they would rather have nothing to do with the mutineers; saying that as they are co-religionist they (Manipuri masses) can meet no harm from them and that all mutineers want is the Sahibs life and why sacrifice lives for the Ferunghees."¹⁹ The following points could be some of the reasons why the Manipuri masses were against the British in the Freedom struggle of 1857.

Historical Background and the uncertain status of the Kabaw Valley

In the last part of 1823, when Gambhir Singh of Manipur was ruling over South Cachar (a region neighbouring with the British Sylhet), the Burmese had not only occupied Assam and Manipur but also invaded Cachar from three directions viz. Assam, Jaintia and Manipur. The third party from Manipur attacked South Cachar and defeated the army of the latter (mainly Manipuris) under Gambhir Singh. Thus, the British Indian Empire was threatened by the Burmese. In a letter to the Court of Directors, it was stated later: "Under such an emergency it was natural that every resource, however trifling, should be sought after and the re-establishment of the Munnipore dynasty seems to have been a scheme peculiarly favoured by the late agent Mr. Scott."²⁰ Accordingly, it was accepted to assist the British Army at Badarpur (Assam) by a group of Manipuris known as 'Raja Gambhir Singh's Levy' comprising 500 infantry and 40 cavalrymen.²¹ Lord Amherst, the then Governor General of British India, declared war against Burma on the 5th march, 1824, and that

the 'Raja Gambhir Singh's Levy' joined the British outpost at Badarpur in April, the following month. The Levy was supplied with arms, and its expenses were also borne by the British. However, they were irregulars as no pay was entitled to them.

By this time, the Burmese had built their strongholds at Talain Mountain, Jatrapur and Dudpatil in Cachar. Their number in those positions was estimated at about 8000. The British Army under Lt. Col. William Inns arrived at Badarpur on June 20 and then proceeded by water along the river Barak to Jatrapur where he arrived on June 27. On the way he tried to dislodge the Burmese from the heights of Talain where they strongly fortified. For three days (July 6, 7, 8) British guns fired on the stockade; Gambhir Singh with his excellent local knowledge, assisted the operation.²² By the end of October, 1824, the entire Burmese Army in Cachar retired to Manipur. On the role played by Gambhir Singh in Cachar, it was stated: "Gumbheer Sing...with whom we had negotiated, raised from among his own followers a body of 500 men, who actively co-operated with our troops in expelling the Burmese from Cachar."²³

At this juncture, Brigadier-General Shuldham, commanding the Eastern Frontier of British India, decided to march to Manipur so that the gravity of the war in the Arakan frontier could be diverted to the advantage of the British Army. However, because of the hopelessness of this wet and mountainous kingdom, the General's mission was suspended. Yet, Gambhir Singh, breaking the ice, proposed to take up the task condemned as hopeless by General Shuldham. Earlier, the former had also been induced by David Scott to lead an expedition for the conquest of Manipur. He was also told that "Manipur would be placed under him if he could liberate it."²⁴ Consequently, Gambhir Singh's proposal was accepted, and thus, the prince made preparations with his own Levy. The 'Raja Gambhir Singh's Levy' left for Manipur on 17th May, 1825, with Lieutenant R. B. Pemberton.²⁵ At this mission, the latter volunteered to accompany Gambhir Singh to Manipur with the additional objective of obtaining some accurate information about the passes into Manipur, its resources and the strength of the Burmese Army. The party, after facing so many difficulties, reached Maklang (a village in the valley of Manipur) on June 10. Hearing their arrival, the Burmese Army in Manipur was divided into four

sections making stockades at Kameng, Andro, Nambol and the Phunal Hills.

The Burmese stronghold at Nambol was defeated by a party under Nur Singh (another Manipuri prince in the Levy). Gambhir Singh, mounting a horse and utilizing his war skill, invaded the Burmese at Kameng and the Phunal hills, and the latter, being defeated, fled to its own territory. Ultimately, the Levy successfully captured Kangla (capital of Manipur) on 12th June, 1825, expelling the entire Burmese force from Manipur. In this way, the Levy executed the task which General Shuldham had failed to do. On this Levy, it was stated: "The men could move lightly equipped without a paraphernalia of a regular army."²⁶ Once more, it was complimented: "The primary objects in view, viz. the expulsion of the Burmese from Manipur was, however, achieved by Gambhir Singh.... These men had been provided with arms by the British commander, but they were wholly undisciplined, and it was only at Gambhir Singh's urgent request that he was permitted to advance with them to Manipur."²⁷ Therefore, the conquest of Manipur in the First Anglo-Burmese War was the handiwork of the irregular and unpaid 'Raja Gambhir Singh's Levy.'

The Levy faced untold difficulties due to the lack of provisions as there was less cultivation in Manipur, and above all, the Levy, being irregular, did not enjoy regular provisional supply of the British Government. Consequently, Gambhir Singh left 300 men in Manipur and returned to Sylhet by the end of June 1825, to discuss his problems and other policy matters. Lt. Pemberton, returning to Sylhet with Gambhir Singh, reported on the latter that "the success of the enterprise was due mainly to his energy, perseverance and skill."²⁸ At Sylhet, Gambhir Singh was intimated with the order of the British Government which accepted the inclusion of the former's Levy in the British Indian Army with a new denomination. With this happy news, Gambhir Singh left Sylhet for Manipur on 4th December, 1825 along with Captain F.J. Grant and Lieutenant R.B. Pemberton. Reaching at Kangla on 23rd instant, Gambhir Singh declared that his Levy would be a part of the British Army with a new denomination-the 'Manipur Levy'; the British Government had accepted to increase its strength to 1500 infantry and 150 cavalry; the pay, provisions and all equipments of the Manipur Levy would be

borne by the British Government and the same would be collected from the Magazine at Chandrapur (place at the western foothills of the Bhuban Mountain, Cachar); Cap. F.J. Grant and Lt. R.B. Pemberton would be the Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioner of the Manipur Levy with Lt. George Gordon (who had not arrived at Imphal that time) as the Adjutant.²⁹ *Cheitharol kumbaba* also mentions that the Maharaja coming with two Ferunghees entered the capital on Friday, the 23rd December, 1825, and arranged a grand feast for the 'Four Victoria Battalions'.³⁰ On this occasion, Alexander Mackenzie also stated: "In 1825 the force was increased to 2000 men, and placed under the command of Captain Grant; it was denominated the Manipur Levy."³¹ On the cavalry wing of the Levy, T.C. Robertson, Agent to the G.G. reported: "An annual advance of about fifteen or twenty thousand Rupees appropriated to the support of a small body of cavalry, to be paid through the British Residence would also I conceive benefit the country...and secure the presence of the only description of auxiliary force which we are even likely to find of any real use to us in the event of another contest with the Burmese."³² In this way, the members of the Manipur Levy, becoming regular army of the British Government, enjoyed many facilities, and Manipur had a sizeable inflow of currency. On the other hand, this kingdom was projected seriously for war against Burma, and also, to defend the eastern frontier from the latter's aggression thereafter.

Gambhir Singh now decided to expel the Burmese from the Kabaw Valley (now in Burma) which had been for Manipur for ages in the past. Nur Singh was, therefore, sent along with 1000 men to Tamu on 1st January, 1826. On being asked for reinforcement, Gambhir Singh along with the two British Officers left for Tamu on 13th January, 1826.³³ The Burmese fort at Tamu was a very strong and well protected one. Therefore, the two Sahibs suggested the need for cannons. But, Gambhir Singh, disavowing the proposal, planned to send Nur Singh to invade Samsok with 300 selected men. Meanwhile, surrounding the Tamu fort to obstruct provisional supply for five days, the Burmese were compelled to leave the place in the night of 23rd January 1826.³⁴ On the other side, Nur Singh, crossing the Ningthee (Chindwin River), broke the capital of Samsok on the same day. At this battle king Soimoila, Kakangka (king of Khampat), king

of Kale and brave Poiyong were arrested among 30 war prisoners. Besides, they also captured muskets, bullets, rice and paddy bags, fish containers and a lot of valuables like silver and gold etc. Receiving the message of the fall of Samsok capital, Gambhir Singh, along with the two British officers, arrived on the bank of the Ningthee on 1st February, 1826.³⁵ Hereafter, declaring his conquest up to the Ningthee River, Gambhir Singh unfurled the flag of Manipur on the bank of this river.³⁶ In this way, under the leadership of Gambhir Singh, the Manipur Levy completed the conquest of Kabaw Valley. On Gambhir Singh and his followers, Captain Grant reported, "...the activity, judgement, and skill, he (i.e., Gambhir Singh) had displayed on this occasion, have proved the justice of the opinion previously entertained of his merits. The steady gallantry which, without the usual aid of cannon, could force a brave enemy to evacuate a strong fortified position, is a very satisfactory illustration of the character of his followers...."³⁷ Indeed, had the British not received the timely help from this brave son of Manipur, it would have been impossible for them to launch an attack on Ava through Manipur and bring the war to conclusion so early leading to the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826. But, in this treaty, the British Government failed to mention any clear provision on the Kabaw valley. As the question of this valley remained unsettled there started a great unrest on the Burmese border. Soon after the treaty, the Burmese started encroaching into the territory of Manipur crossing the Ningthee River. It resulted in a serious headache to the Manipuris and, consequently, they were highly discontented with the British policy.

Dispute over South Cachar

Before the First Anglo-Burmese war, Gambhir Singh and his brothers had established their political hegemony in South Cachar by ruling over its territories for about six years (1818-1823). His followers, the chunk of Manipur Levy, had enjoyed the wealth and prosperity of the areas of South Cachar. Although they were defeated by the Burmese in the last part of 1823, yet they extended their maximum support to the British in expelling the Burmese from Cachar. Therefore, after the Treaty of Yandaboo, Gambhir Singh and his followers encroached upon Cachar establishing their outpost at Chandrapur. After the death of Govindachandra (Raja of Cachar), in 1830, there was a serious question of succession in Cachar.

Gambhir Singh became a strong claimant submitting a proposal to the British Government "to farm out Cachar for a period of twenty years in return for an annual revenue of rupees fifteen thousand."³⁸ However, the British policy on Cachar and Manipur had already been designed as it was expressed: "By the improvement of Cachar country, therefore, it is to be hoped that our means might be facilitated of assisting Munnipore against Ava."³⁹ They also considered Cachar the granary of this region. Therefore, after the Treaty of Badarpur (1824), the Commissioner of Sylhet had instructed "to keep a keen watch on the conduct of the Raja (Gobindchandra) and to ascertain whether he will be willing to cede the territory to the British."⁴⁰ Ultimately, the British Government annexed south Cachar, in 1832, to the great dissatisfaction of Gambhir Singh and his followers. By the Treaty of 1833, Gambhir Singh was given the unproductive mountainous region between the Jiri Nallah and the Barak River which was considered by the British as worse than useless in every point of view. Hence, Manipur was not compensated satisfactorily for the sacrifices made in Cachar during the First Anglo-Burmese War.

Expansion of territory in the plains of Assam Forbidden

It is rightly stated that the Court of Directors represented a mercantile company and was naturally very sensitive in money making. Therefore, the Company's Government always tried to annex those resourceful plains areas leaving behind those mountainous terrains to the indigenous rulers. When the Naga Tribes raided the neighbouring plains protected by the British Government, the latter stated: "Gambhir Singh should be held accountable for the behaviour of the Nagas thus considered to be placed under his permanent authority."⁴¹ But, when Gambhir Singh intended to conquer the Naga Hills permanently, the British Government felt that "the ambitious Manipuris would have been a very dangerous neighbour of our vassal Purander Singh, whom we were then enduring to establish on the throne of upper Assam.... It did not absolutely prohibit him (Gambhir Singh) from subjugating the Nagas; but it forbade him to descend into the plains on the Assam side."⁴² Indeed, in 1835, the forest between the Doyeng and the Dhunsiri was declared to be the boundary between Manipur and Assam.⁴³ Hence the

Manipuris were not allowed to expand their territory beyond the unproductive hilly regions.

Manipur lost the Kabaw Valley to Burma

The Kabaw Valley, mainly the plain areas between Manipur and the Chindwin River (now in Burma), had been under Manipur during the most part of its political history. It is stated, "For the greater part of the century (18th century) the Kubo Valley unquestionably belonged to Manipur and it was never in any sense a Burmese province, being, when not under Manipur, a feudatory of the great Shan Kingdom of Pong."⁴⁴ Later, it was given to Burma by Marjit Singh (1813-19) in order to acquire the throne of Manipur with the help of the Burmese. After seven years Burmese devastation of Manipur (1819-1825), the latter was re-conquered by Gambhir Singh with the help of the British. When the prince became the Raja of Manipur after the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826, this valley became a hot spot of political dialogue between Burma and the British Government (ally of Manipur). In June 1826, Major General Archibald Campbell was informed that "the Government should maintain the right of Gambhir Singh over northern and middle portion of Kabow Valley (Samjok and Khampat) but the southern portion (Kule) had to become a subject of negotiation."⁴⁵ However, the Burmese court objected to the line of boundary proposed by the Government of India. The latter appointed Captain F.J. Grant and Lieutenant R. B. Pemberton as the Commissioners of Manipur. Lieutenants Montmorency and Rawlinson were deputed to accompany the Burmese Commissioners to the meeting on the Chindwin River which was scheduled to be held in February 1828. As the season was quite advanced, they postponed their programme.

The British Commissioners met the Burmese in January 1830, and fixed the Chindwin River as the future boundary between Burma and Manipur planting flags accordingly; but the Burmese refused their witness. The latter's court was greatly agitated over the step of Grant and Pemberton, which they thought was unwarranted by any instruction of the Government of India and decided to send a deputation to Calcutta. Accordingly, two Burmese envoys arrived in Calcutta, in 1830, and their first and the foremost demand was "the restoration of the Kabow Valley."⁴⁶ Before their arrival in Calcutta, the British

Government also sent Major Burney as the British Resident in Ava in April 1830. He was instructed that “your attention should be given to the trade of Ava with a view to reporting to his Lordship-in-Council the practicability of extending and facilitating British commerce and the consumption of British manufactures.”⁴⁷ In the previous letter from Burney, it was stated that the importation of British goods in Burma was on the rise, but in December 1830, he stated: “Some of my former reports expressed an opinion that the present king of Ava will take the first favourable opportunity of engaging in another contest with us.”⁴⁸ The Burmese Government also appointed their Governors of Prome, Bassein, and other cities in the delta as military chiefs (Bo) who had the power to call out the inhabitants of their districts to be ready for any emergency. In this way, the Government of Ava was in a state of war against the British Indian Government. On the other hand, the British Government felt the difficulties and the huge loss of resources in the form of money and men in the First Anglo-Burmese war.⁴⁹ Above all, the authorities of Calcutta were also very serious about the trade facilities which they could enjoy when they developed a good relationship with Ava. The Burmese mainly exported vegetable oil, petroleum and teak-wood. About the latter, it was stated: “It is found also in Bombay, but in small quantities, and is extremely dear; whereas in Pegu and Ava there are such immense forests of it, that it can be sold to as many ships as arrive, at a moderate price.”⁵⁰

Keeping in view of the above circumstances, the British Government stated its final decision: “.....the Supreme Government still adheres to the opinion that the Ningthee formed the proper boundary between Ava and Manipur; but that in consideration for His Majesty's (Burmese king) feelings and wishes and in the spirit of amity and good will subsisting between the countries, the Supreme Government consents to the restoration of the Kubo Valley to Ava, and to the establishment of the boundary at the foot of the Yoomadoungh hills.”⁵¹ Accordingly, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton handed over the Kabaw Valley to Burma on the 9th January, 1834. To compensate this great loss of Manipur, the British Government paid 500 Sicca Rupees per month to this Kingdom. It is stated that “no consent of the king of Manipur was taken in making the treaty for the transfer of Kabow.”⁵² To Manipuris, the loss of Kabaw Valley was just like

snatching of a child from a mother's lap. The Court of Directors also expressed it to be a delicate one.⁵³ Raja Gambhir Singh died on the same day of the cession of Kabaw Valley to Burma. In this way, the British Government, in order to safeguard its economic and political ends in respect of Burma, sacrificed the interest of a less powerful kingdom of Manipur by ceding the Kabaw Valley to Burma. On the other hand, the British pre-empted the rise and growth of Manipur into a powerful and resourceful kingdom which it would have achieved if it had re-established its control and sovereignty over the said valley.

III-treatment to the Manipur Levy and other British excesses

After the cession of Kabaw Valley to Burma, the British Government, deeming that the Burmese would no longer aggress towards the Company's frontier, and also, in order to save the expenditure on the Manipur Levy, severed the latter's connection with the British Government issuing this order in 1835: “It has been resolved to discontinue the British superintendence over the body denominated the Manipur Levy, and to leave it optional with the Government of the country to maintain that force or not as it please.”⁵⁴ Hence, the Company, after fulfilling all its political and monetary objectives, betrayed its most reliable friend in its eastern frontier. The Manipuris had not only lost their Kabaw Valley but also experienced the termination of the life giving services of the members of the Levy under the British Government. It also diminished, to a large extent, the regular inflow of currency to Manipur. Hence, after 1835, Manipur faced a serious scarcity of Rupee.

Later, the Company also tried to interfere into the internal affairs of Manipur. This act of interference started mainly when Nur Singh (regent of young Raja Chandrakirti) experienced an unsuccessful attempt on his life in 1844. Being frightened, Raja Chandrakirti Singh fled to Cachar with his mother Kumudini. Nur Singh, becoming the new Raja, asked the British Government to deliver the Kabaw compensation money. Consequently, the new Raja was given a condition to support financially to the ex-Raja and Maharani in proof of the stability of the Government. The Rajah, hereafter, consented to assign to the young Raja and to the Maharani 80 Rs. and 20 Rs. a month

respectively, and then, he was formally recognised by the British Govt. as the Rajah of Muneepore.⁵⁵ Therefore, from this time onwards the Kabaw compensation could not be claimed by any declared Raja of Manipur unless the latter was recognised by the British Government.

Again, in 1850, when Chandrakirti Singh ascended the throne of Manipur, in the name of maintaining peace in the kingdom, the British Government made a public avowal to punish any contender to the throne of Manipur as it was stated: "Influenced by a desire to put an end to the frequent attempt by exiled members of the Rajah's family to effect a change of Government you have authorized the Political Agent to make 'a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Rajah and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him.'"⁵⁶ Thus, the British Government became the protector of the Raja of Manipur making Manipuri masses extremely disappointed.

Response of the Manipuri masses in 1857 Revolt

In the event of 1857 Revolt, the British Government decided to establish a Manipur Regiment thinking that the latter would be very useful for the maintenance of peace in their eastern frontiers. Hence, in a letter sent to the Court of Directors in 1857, it was stated: "On the 4th of August it was suggested to the Govt. of India by the Lt. Governor of Bengal, that it might be easy and expedient through the civil and military authorities in the N-E Frontier and Munipore to raise a very useful body Muneepoorees, and Cacharees for general service...."⁵⁷ Accordingly, orders were issued to the Political Agent in Manipur and to the officer commanding the Sylhet Light Infantry Regiment to raise a corps each of 1500 Manipuris to be drilled at Cherraponjee. There, the old jail was repaired for their accommodation. It was stated, "Natives of Muneepore were recommended for enlistment in preference to Cacharees. The former being more active and warlike it was suggested that they should receive the same pay as the Sylhet Light Infantry while under training and that their pay should be increased when they became general service corps."⁵⁸ However, the people of Manipur did not like to extend their support to this recruitment rally keeping in view of those previous events beginning with the loss of Kabaw Valley. Besides, those disaffected Manipuris also objected to in supporting

the British Government on that matter. Therefore around 300 men only, that too, mostly from Cachar, joined the recruitment rally. The Government, then, had a suspicious eye on them as it was reported: "It was strongly urged, that until thoroughly disciplined and drilled the corps should be employed in the lower province and in the S.W. Frontier."⁵⁹ When there was less response from Manipur on that recruitment processes, the Government expressed its desire to fill up the vacancies by the Kukis as it was expressed, "Should a sufficiency of Muneepoorees not be procurable the enlistment of Kookis was sanctioned."⁶⁰ Besides, McCulloch was also doubtful about the fidelity of the Manipur Army already sent to Cachar frontier to check the infiltration of Chittagong mutineers. When the Raja wanted to send more of his army, McCulloch reported: "The Raja wished to send more troops towards the boundary, but doubtful of the fidelity of those already there I dissuaded him from doing so."⁶¹ It justifies that even a section of Raja Chandrakirti Singh's army which were sent to the Cachar border was not willing to support the British Government in this great event.

Conclusion

Keeping in view of the above study, by 1857, the Manipuri masses had cropped up in their mind a sense of deep anti-British feeling. When McCulloch was asked about the number of Manipuris who seriously assisted their Government, the former expressed: "I regret the discrepancy pointed out and beg to apologize for having written so loosely in my letter of 12th Feb. 1858. When I used the expression "one or two" I meant not to convey one man only or at the most two men, but that the number was very limited."⁶² Hence, in the event of 1857 the Manipuris had two divergent blocks. The motive of the Manipuri masses showed a serious anti-British mindset which apparently became the deep-rooted cause of the serious Anglo-Manipuri conflicts in the future history of Manipur.

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Role of Raja Hira Singh Dogra in Sikh Darbar (19th Century)

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ammu, formerly the winter capital of Jammu and Kashmir State, situated on the foothills of the Himalayas, once was the “One of the most oriental and picturesque town”. Though inhabited by numerous tribes and communities the political

history of Jammu is interesting especially during the centuries mainly of the Dogra rulers.

After Maharaja Ranjit Dev's death in the beginning of April 1782, the Jammu Raj was passed over to his eldest son Brijraj Dev. From the time of Brijraj Dev, the state had become completely subject to and tributary of the Sikhs and paid an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000.

Dogra rulers played important role in the Lahore kingdom. The unification of Jammu State as a compact political unit was left to the courage and political genius of the trio-Dogra brothers, Gulab Singh, Suchet Singh and Dhian Singh. Peace and security was soon restored in the lands given to the family in Jagirs by the grateful Sikh monarch Ranjit Singh, and Gulab Singh honored them with the title of 'Raja' on June 17th, 1822. By the same deed Raja Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh were granted the jagirs of Jammu, the principality of Jasrota was granted to Raja Hira Singh, the eldest Son of Dhian Singh and nephew of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu. Though the trio-brothers were vassals of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore and from time to time

they were conferred upon special privileges and powers through written documents. Raja Hira Singh was one such gem of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court.

Hira Singh, son of Raja Dhian Singh, the most influential Prime Minister of Lahore kingdom, was born in 1816 A.D. at Ramgarh village in the Jammu province, about 16 miles to the south-east of the capital. Soon after that the village was bestowed as *jagir* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the Dogra family, a junior branch of the ruling of the famous Dogra King Ranjit Dev¹ (A.D. 1733-82) of Jammu.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab especially took Hira Singh into his favour and loved him like a son from his birth. He developed such a paternal infatuation for this handsome lad that he could hardly bear the boy to be out of sight.² He bestowed on him the title of *Raja* in A.D. 1828,, gave him the title of *Farzand-e-Khas* (special of the special sons) by a special *farman* of April, A.D. 1836. He extended to him the privilege of a chair in the court which was denied even to his illustrious father, Raja Dhian Singh, the Prime Minister of the State. Another *farman* of Ranjit Singh, issued in October, 1837 proclaims: “... The title of exalted *Farzand-e-Khas* (best beloved son) the proprietary rights over Jasrota and the right of a seat in chair in the court of the Sarkar and his glorious princes are conferred on the dutiful dignitary Raja Hira Singh.”³

From infancy Hira Singh was taught to call the monarch 'Bapu' (Papa)⁴. Ranjit Singh seemed to delight in humoring all his whims and caprices.⁵ He bestowed special favours on him. In A.D. 1828, he granted him the *Jagir* of Jasrota in Jammu. In April,

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A.D. 1836, the country of mountainous region of Basholi was granted to him in lieu of Rs. 100,000 to meet the expenses of axemen.⁶ His *jagirs* amounted to Rs. 462,115.⁷ In August, 1836, the payments to Raja Hira Singh in the service of the Maharaja amounted to the value of Rs. 637,000 which included 300,000 for 3 platoons and horsemen, 2,30,000 for 8 cannons, 96,600 for the expenses of the apprentices and 36,000 for the expenses of the *Derah* (Camp).⁸

Maharaja Ranjit Singh invariably took him along on inspection of the troops, in the royal *buggi*, on royal tours and camps and sent him out to royal receptions as his representative. He occupied special position among the first few in the *Darbar*. He could speak to the Maharaja without the formal forms of address and had the liberty to refute the Maharaja in the Court. Ranjit Singh studied to procure him a high matrimonial alliance⁹ with a daughter of the deceased Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra in the Year A.D. 1828, which however could not materialize and Hira Singh's marriage was consummated with a maiden of his own degree in the same year with much splendor and the greatness of Ranjit Singh's name induced even the chiefs living under British protection to offer their congratulations and presents on the occasion.¹⁰ The celebrations concluded in the month of November, 1828 and Ranjit Singh received the happy news of the marriage on the 1st December and felt greatly pleased.¹¹

“As Hira Singh reached manhood the army also yielded its affection to the Maharaja's favourite, and it came about that this senile love of the old Maharaja, aided by the inclination of the powerful army, suggested a dream of greatness to his uncles.

“This dream was that Hira Singh, the heir of their family might eventually succeed to the throne of Ranjit Singh.”¹² After Ranjit Singh's death on 27 June, 1839, though he did not succeed to the throne, yet he maintained his premiere position at the Sikh court, the loyalty and favour of the army towards him remained unaltered till September 1843 when unexpected and sudden events have thrown the Chief authority of Prime Ministership on his young shoulders. On 15 September, his father, Raja Dhian Singh was murdered by Sindhanwalia regicides within an hour of

assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh by them. Like his great father, Hira Singh rose to the occasion to thwart the plans of the assassins to usurp the throne. On hearing of the murder Hira Singh promptly appealed to the entire powerful army, making an effective use of the argument that the Sindhanwalia faction looked to the British for support and would increase British influence in the Punjab. The army, at once marched to Lahore, seized and put to death Sindhanwalia leaders Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh.¹³

Shortly after Hira Singh's capture of the fort on 16th September, Dalip Singh was proclaimed Maharaja. The next day, on the advice of all the principle dignitaries Dalip Singh sat on the throne and Raja Hira Singh was made the Prime Minister.¹⁴ The *Panches* (two men from each company and all the officers) unanimously declared him as Wazir and promised to obey him. With apparent reluctance he accepted the position.¹⁵ Under a minor sovereign of about five years of age, at a court where so many who might have been competitors or enemies had been swept away, the Wazir or Minister was the absolute ruler of the Punjab.¹⁶ He was then about twenty-seven years old.

Hira Singh's personal credentials were in no way unworthy of the position. He had been the special favorite of the great Maharaja who had allowed him to be seated in his presence, an honour denied even to his father, the Chief Minister.¹⁷ He was strikingly handsome, shrewd, good-tempered, urbane and entertaining.¹⁸ He had learnt from his father the art of “how to gain the favor of the troops by his eloquence and promises.”¹⁹ He was certainly “one of the most amiable and popular person at the Court of Lahore.”²⁰

Hira Singh's ascendancy to power was reckoned as harbinger of peace and strength to the Lahore State. Mr. Richmond reported to his Government on October 5, that Hira Singh with the help of his Dogra uncles, would be able to maintain order in the Punjab.²¹ Notwithstanding several circumstances in his favour, Hira Singh's position was extremely difficult and perilous. Ventura had rightly predicted that “Hira Singh would be soon compelled to flee to Jammu” where an independent Rajput state would be formed by Gulab Singh.²²

Ellenborough also reported to the queen

that "Hira Singh would soon be compelled to flee to Jammu."²³ In fact, "the convulsions which had brought him to the surface of power and cast him upon his present eminence had deranged all the machinery and functions of the government, whilst the army upon which he was constrained to depend was an unruly and ... insatiable monster, whose voracity, after exhausting every expediency he found it in the end impossible to appease."²⁴ The Sikh army had become extremely licentious, violent and mutinous. 70,000 Sikh soldiers were concentrated at Lahore "desirous of war and plunder, and under no discipline or control."²⁵ The whole army remains at Lahore, the real master of the government, its inaction in only purchased by largesse."²⁶

At the same time he could not rely upon the support of the Sikh chiefs who were set as body against the ascendancy of the Jammu family, while the Rani Jindan wanted to reign herself through her lovers and her brother Jawahir Singh. Hira Singh's difficulties were increased by the fact that his uncle Suchet Singh was jealous of his power and encourage two other reputed or adopted sons of Ranjit Singh to revolt. Hira Singh unwillingly developed differences with Raja Gulab Singh, his uncle, the most powerful and shrewd noble of Lahore kingdom. This led to serious challenges to Hira Singh's authority and ultimately led to his downfall. His blind dependence on his tutor-adviser, Pandit Jalla, caused the greatest dissatisfaction to the army, and intrigues were speedily afoot having for their object Pandit Jalla's downfall and death. The leading spirit in this movement was Sardar Jawahir Singh, brother of Rani Jindan.

Under these circumstances, when the dissolution of the dominion seemed probable,²⁷ Hira Singh with the help of Suchet Singh, succeeded to certain extent in restoring order within two or three days of the reduction of the fort.²⁸ The southern border was strengthened against any British advance. The rebellion of Fateh Khan Tiwana was promptly put down. In March 1844, both Kashmir Singh and Peshaura Singh revolted in Sialkot. They were besieged and compelled to evacuate. They, however, submitted and were pardoned. But this success strengthened anti Dogra and anti Hira Singh feeling among the troops, and the minister was compelled to release Sardar Jawahir Singh on 22 March 1844, lift the siege of the jagirs of Peshaura

Singh and Kashmir Singh and to evacuate and the guards off the house of Misar Beli Ram. At the same time the army officers, on the advice of troops invited Raja Suchet Singh to occupy the office of Prime Minister, with the assurance that "all the people would at once accept the rope of obedience round the neck of their lives."²⁹ But when Suchet Singh suddenly appeared at the capital on 26 March, the wayward and fickle Sikh soldiers had been won over by Hira Singh by gold. The unsuspecting aspirant to the faithful *wazarat* was surrounded by overwhelming numbers and killed along with his 40 followers including Rai Kesari Singh, on 27th March.³⁰ The death of his uncle saved Hira Singh's life but he became more dependent on the army which was reported to have become "more insolent and extortionate than ever in its demands."³¹ This event also led to estrangement between him and Raja Gulab Singh, a fact which further undermined his position.

A few months later, the surviving Sindhanwalia chief, Sardar Attar Singh, who had been a refugee at Thanesar in British territory, made an attempt to subvert Hira Singh's authority in alliance with the British and the blessing of Bhai Vir Singh who had begun to cherish "the ambition of becoming a chief of Lahore"³² and whose *Derah* at Aurangabad had become a rival court for the disaffected element including almost all the eminent chiefs of Lahore *Darbar*.³³ Hira Singh mobilized troops without demur and in the provoked military action that ensued Attar Singh, Kashmir Singh and the Bhai were killed. Thus success on all quarter confirmed Hira Singh's authority throughout the Sikh Kingdom. Most of his enemies and rivals were exterminated. He was, therefore, formally installed in the office of the *Wazir* on 28th June, 1844 in the presence of civil and military authorities. But at the same time he had become "the object of much animosity on account of the death of holy man Bhai Vir Singh and his life is uncertain as before."³⁴

Henceforth followed events which took the wind off Hira Singh's sails and led to his eventual downfall and death. Some of these were his own creation, consequential to his desire to improve financial and administrative affairs of the state. The *Wazir* and his *Brahmin* adviser, Pandit Jalla, "a man as senseless and stupid as he was mean and selfish" employed themselves ruthlessly to improve finances and bring back the troops to subordination. The

reform of finance implied the reduction of the power of the Chiefs and realizing of the arrears from the fief holders and to increase their annual tribute by one fourth. In order to replenish the treasury without delay a *nazrana* of Rs. 500,000 was demanded from Sardar Kishan Singh. A crore of rupees were demanded from Diwan Mulraj, the new Governor of Multan and a higher rate of revenue. Fines were imposed on various Chiefs at the sweet will of Pandit. Confiscation of *jagirs* followed simultaneously. Thus the Pandit established a reign of terror in the Punjab. The cry of "old nobility in danger" was raised and it brought another hornet's nest for the minister. An attempt was made to reform the *jagirdari* contingents and reorganize the army.³⁵ Men had been punished for disrespect at the *Darbar* and others discharged³⁶ Rigorous orders were issued respecting false roaster and the practice of suffering men to absent themselves at pleasure from their regiments. Some absentees had been discharged and not restored in spite of entreaty. These changes, whether successful or not, could hardly fail to produce commotion. An extremely perilous situation had in the meantime developed and there was a universal expectation of an upheaval.³⁷ In the opinion of the nobility, the army and Raja Gulab Singh all these abhorred measure had been engineered by Pandit Jalla, "a man of the most repulsive cast of countenance, and of the most tyrannical and ambitious spirit".³⁸ One and all demanded his dismissal which Raja Hira Singh refused. Rani Jindan had also claiming Regency which was refused by the minister and consequently it led to bitterness between the Minister and the Queen mother. The Mutsaddi party headed to Diwan Dina Nath, the Lahore Vakils with the British Political agents besides Bhai Ram Singh Taquirs, Azizuddin and Nuruddin all opposed to the ministry because of reforms and resumption of jagirs and sided with the Rani and her brother Jawahir Singh and precipitated the crises. The Rani appealed directly to the soldiery and raised their disaffection. The crises came when some 500 men were discharged in a body. The Rani sent messages to the soldiery, charging Hira Singh and his party with treasonous designs and throwing herself and boy Maharaja on their protection.⁴⁰ On December 19, the officer of the army advised Hira Singh to make an accommodation with Jawahir Singh and to make peace with the Rani. In the evening of December 20, the troops left cantonments in the

tumultuous bodies declaring the Rani and her son were in danger. During the night the conspirators and the Rani settled operations for tomorrow and stirred up troops with promises of plunder of Jammu. On December 21, Raja Hira Singh and Pt. Jalla realizing that everything was lost at Lahore, started their fatal flight towards Jammu, accompanied by some 2000 or 3000 hill troops. Jawahir Singh, Sham Singh Attariwala, Lal Singh and about 10,000 men of all arms set out in pursuit of Hira Singh and his party. They soon overtook the fugitives some 14 miles distant from Lahore. Raja Hira Singh and Pt. Jalla were killed along with Mian Sohan Singh (son of Raja Gulab Singh) and Mian Labh Singh. Their heads were cut off and paraded through Lahore city. Thus fell the undaunted Minister of the Sikh State who had steered the ship of the Lahore state during the most horrible whirlpool of anarchy under the shadow of blood thirsty swords and with the highly dangerous advice of his adviser-tutor Pandit Jalla, "the whole army was responsible for whose death, but Hira Singh's death was caused by his mistaken loyalty to his tutor".⁴¹

"Hira Singh was an adept in averting an impending danger promises which were not intended to be fulfilled."

As a politician he had his faults. He lacked discernment and he was easily misled by Pandit Jalla. He was neither a patriot nor a statesman though he had considerable talent, energy and will.⁴²

"In the face of all that has been said above, it is not surprising that hardly a few days elapsed since Hira Singh's death when all the high and low began to praise the good order established by the young Minister by contrasting it with extreme disorder and confusion which ensued thereafter. "Indeed, his death sounded the death-knell of the Punjab Kingdom which now fast headed towards disintegration and extinction."⁴³

Hira Singh appears to have brought sufficient skill energy to the various problems before him and to have effected considerable subordination of the army. From his conduct of affairs he seems to have been endowed with talent, tact and courage. "If circumstances had been different he might well have become the first Dogra-Sikh Maharaja of Lahore."⁴⁴

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मालवीय जी की हिंदू जीवन-दृष्टि

प्रो० आनन्द मिश्र *

बालमुकुन्द पाण्डेय **

मनुष्य के जीवन का यह सातत्य है कि वह स्वयं के जीवन में अपनी उपलब्धियों का जो प्रासाद निर्मित करता है, उसकी आधारिक संरचना उसके गुणात्मक कर्मों के ऊपर अवलम्बित होती है। वह अपने कर्मक्षेत्र में जिन आदर्शों व प्रतिमानों का अनुसरण करता है अर्थात् वह जिन सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को आत्मसात करते हुए उनका क्रियात्मक रूप से प्रयोग स्वयं या उससे कहीं अधिक सामाजिक जीवन में करता है तो उसके गुणों की वह क्रियात्मक उपलब्धियाँ उसको महानता अर्थात् महापुरुष की श्रेणी में परिगणित करती हैं। यह बात संसार के समस्त महापुरुषों पर कदाचित् समसामयिक परिस्थितियों में आमूलचूल संशोधन-परिवर्धन के साथ लागू होती है। इन लोकनायकों के व्यक्तित्व व कर्तृत्व का तत्कालीन वायुमण्डल पर प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होता है। अपने समकालीन वातावरण में ये महापुरुष जिस प्रकार के सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक विशृंखलन से उपजे विषादयुक्त, नकारात्मक परिदृश्य में अपने मूल सांस्कृतिक-धार्मिक विरासत से ऊर्जा प्राप्त करके समाज एवं राष्ट्र के पुनर्निर्माण अथवा समाज जागरण का युगान्तकारी मार्ग प्रशस्त करते हैं। भारत के इतिहास में प्राचीनकाल से लेकर वर्तमान तक ऐसे अनेक दृष्टान्त देखने या सुनने को मिलते हैं, जिनमें लोकनायकों ने अपना मूल अस्तित्व प्राप्त धार्मिक मान्यताओं और परम्पराओं के आधार पर भारतवर्ष में लोकजागरण का अभिनव प्रयोग किया है। चाहे वह भारतीय संस्कृति का प्रारम्भिक

प्रस्फुटन काल, जिसे हम वैदिक काल के नाम से जानते हैं, के युगद्रष्टा, लोकसंग्रही ऋषि अगस्त्य¹ हों युग-प्रवर्तक राम, कृष्ण हों या कालान्तर के महापुरुष, यथा— गौतम बुद्ध, वर्द्धमान महावीर, आद्य शंकराचार्य, स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती, विवेकानन्द आदि सभी ने अपनी धार्मिक, दार्शनिक, तात्त्विक मीमांसा को ही शान्ति का आधार बनाकर समाज में धार्मिक मान्यताओं के पुनर्स्थापन का कार्य किया है। प्राचीन काल से लेकर आज तक भारत में परिवर्तन के जो भी सोपान देखने को मिलते हैं, उसके गर्भ में 'धर्म' एक नियामक तत्त्व की भूमिका का निर्वहन करता प्रतीत होता है। यही बात पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी के जीवनकाल के सम्बन्ध में धार्मिक व सांस्कृतिक मानदण्डों के आधार पर युक्तिसंगत जान पड़ती है।

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय ने जिस लोकशक्ति के जागरण के लिए जीवनपर्यंत संघर्ष किया, उसकी पृष्ठभूमि उन्हें पारिवारिक विरासत से प्राप्त हुई थी। बाल्यकाल से लेकर जीवन के अन्तिम प्रहर तक सनातन धर्म की मूल्यवान् परम्पराओं एवं भारतवर्ष की अतुल धार्मिक-बौद्धिक सम्पदा ने ही उनके कार्यों को दिशा प्रदान की। भौगोलिक दृष्टि से भी उनका जीवन और कर्मक्षेत्र भारत के प्राचीनतम पौराणिक नगर प्रयाग तथा काशी में व्यतीत हुआ था। निःसंदेह भारतीय संस्कृति में देश-काल परिस्थितियों से संबंधित वातावरण का प्रभाव शास्त्रानुमोदित है। इसी शास्त्रानुमोदन और पारिवारिक परम्पराओं, संस्कारों की क्रियात्मक अभिव्यक्ति मदनमोहन मालवीय के जीवन में चरितार्थ हुई। मदनमोहन मालवीय के पूर्वज वर्तमान मालवा के मूल निवासी थे। मध्यकाल में सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष मुस्लिम आक्रमणों और उनके अत्याचारों की विभीषिका से झुलस रहा था, मालवा का क्षेत्र भी इन आक्रमणों अत्याचारों से अछूता नहीं रहा। मध्यभारत में इसी सांस्कृतिक विशृंखलन से उपजे रक्तंजित वातावरण में मालवीय जी के पूर्वजों ने अपनी सांस्कृतिक विरासत व स्वधर्मरक्षार्थ वर्तमान उत्तरप्रदेश

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व बिहार के कुछ क्षेत्रों की ओर पलायन किया। पूर्वजों के इस विस्थापन ने भी मालवीय जी के जीवन को धार्मिक रूप से प्रगाढ़ करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वहन किया।

मदनमोहन मालवीय जी को हिंदू (सनातन) जीवन-दर्शन और संस्कार अपने पूर्वजों की सांस्कृतिक विरासत से प्राप्त हुए थे। पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी ने अपनी 75वीं वर्षगांठ के अवसर पर कहा था कि “मेरे पितामह, पितामही, पिता और माता बड़े ही धर्मात्मा, सदाचारी और निस्वार्थी ब्राह्मण थे, उन्हीं के प्रसाद से मैं इतना कर सका हूँ।”² निश्चित ही पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय पर पितामह और पिता की भागवत भक्ति तथा धर्म के प्रति आस्था, विश्वास, माता के शील एवं वात्सल्य का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा था। उनका जीवन शनैः-शनैः धर्मनिष्ठ, शीलसम्पन्न, भगवद्भक्त, दीनबन्धु, समाजसेवी तथा धर्मसेवी के रूप में प्रगट हुआ।³ पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय को बाल्यकाल से ही एक सुदृढ़ धार्मिक विरासत परम्परा से प्राप्त हुई थी। उन्होंने बचपन में घर पर ही पढ़ना सीखा, नागरी अक्षर सीखे और फिर संस्कृत पढ़ना सीखा, साथ-ही-साथ अपने दादा और पिताजी से भारतीय संस्कृति, नैतिक और धार्मिक आदर्शों की शिक्षा प्राप्त की।⁴ मदनमोहन ने बचपन में ही धर्म के विभिन्न पहलुओं को स्पर्श करने का प्रयास किया। मात्र 9 वर्ष की अवस्था में वह बटुक बन गये और सर्वप्रथम अपनी माँ से ही ‘भवति भिक्षां मे देहि’ का सम्बोधन कर भविष्य के राष्ट्रभिक्षु होने का प्रमाण दिया।⁵ मदनमोहन ने अपने जीवन की शैशवावस्था में ही धर्म, आचार, परम्परा पर आधारित जीवन का अनुसरण किया। बचपन में पिता से प्राप्त गायत्री मंत्र की दीक्षा का उन्होंने जीवनपर्यंत निर्वहन किया। धर्म उनकी दिनचर्या में सम्मिलित था। वह स्कूल जाने से पूर्व नित्य हनुमद्दर्शन को जाते और उस समय यह श्लोक पढ़ते थे—

‘मनोजवं मारुततुल्यवेगं जितेन्द्रियं बुद्धिमतां वरिष्ठम् ।

वातात्मजं वानरयूथमुख्यं श्रीरामदूतं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥’⁶

मदनमोहन मालवीय की धर्म के प्रति बढ़ती रुचि और आस्था के फलस्वरूप उनके माता-पिता को सदैव यह चिन्ता रहती थी कि उनका बालक कहीं साधु न बन जाये। लेकिन मदनमोहन मालवीय वैदिक कर्मयोग के प्रतिपालक थे, और निश्चित ही उनके जीवनपर्यंत के कार्यों के सन्दर्भ में विश्लेषणात्मक रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि वह संत प्रवृत्ति को स्वीकार करते हुए जीवनभर कर्मयोग के प्रति तत्पर रहे। हिंदू-धर्म के प्रति उनकी आसक्ति, आस्था, विश्वास और जीवटता का प्रमाण उनके प्रारम्भिक विद्यार्थी जीवन की घटनाओं से मिलता है। विद्यालयीन जीवन में उन्होंने अपने साथियों का एक दल बना रखा था, जो हमेशा उन्हीं के निर्देशन में कार्य करता था। इस दल का कार्य समाजजीवन में आयोजित धार्मिक क्रियाकलापों में बढ़-चढ़कर भाग

लेना और मेले और धार्मिक उत्सवों में भाषण देना आदि था।⁷ हिंदू-धर्म के प्रति संघर्ष करने की प्रवृत्ति उनमें प्रारम्भ से ही थी। मदनमोहन मालवीय का जन्म एक ऐसे कालखण्ड में हुआ था जब भारतीय संस्कृति, विशेषकर हिंदू-धर्म वैचारिक झंझावातों के दौर से गुजर रहा था। ब्रिटिश शासन के परिणामस्वरूप भारत में पनप रही पाश्चात्य मिशनरी शक्तियाँ अपने विभिन्न उपागमों के माध्यम से जहाँ हिंदू-धर्म पर कुठाराघात कर रही थीं, वहीं दूसरी ओर भारत राजनीतिक पारतन्त्र्य के अंधकार से संघर्ष कर रहा था। यद्यपि यह वह समायावधि है जब भारतीय संस्कृति अपनी मूल अस्तित्वप्राप्त परम्पराओं की ओर लौटने का प्रयास कर रही थी। किन्तु परम्पराओं के इन पुनर्स्थापन के इस सकारात्मक प्रयासों में विरोधाभास की स्थिति नजर आती है। इस कालावधि में एक ऐसा वर्ग था जो अपनी मूल वैदिक-सांस्कृतिक प्रतिमानों के लिए संघर्षरत था तो दूसरा पाश्चात्य संस्कृति के माध्यम से भारतीय संस्कृति के पुरोधा पुनरुत्थानवादी भारतीयों के क्रियाकलापों से भारत में सक्रिय ईसाई-मिशनरियों को बढ़ावा मिल रहा था। मदनमोहन मालवीय के हिंदू-अस्मिता व हिंदू-भाव का सर्वप्रथम सार्वजनिक प्रकटीकरण ईसाई-मिशनरियों के विरोध के स्वरूप में देखने को मिलता है। प्रयाग के गिरजाघर में पादरियों ने प्रायोजित रूप में हिंदू-धर्म की आलोचना कर हिंदू समाज को अपमानित करने का दुष्प्रयत्न चला रखा था। मदनमोहन मालवीय के बालमन के लिए हिंदू-विरोधी यह गतिविधि असहनीय थी। उन्होंने अपने विद्यालय में ‘वागवर्धिनी सभा’ की स्थापना की और उन दिनों अंग्रेजी विद्यालयों, विशेषकर समाज में हिंदू-धर्म और भारतीय संस्कृति के विरुद्ध जो विषगमन होता रहता था, का प्रतिकार करना प्रारम्भ किया। उन्होंने अवसरानुकूल सभा, समाज, मेले उत्सव में खड़े होकर व्याख्यान देना प्रारम्भ किया।⁸ उनके व्याख्यानों में उनके संस्कारित पारिवारिक धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमि का स्पष्ट प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता था। हिंदू-संस्कारों से पोषित इस बालमन ने व्याख्यान दल बनाया, जिसमें कई सदस्य थे। इस प्रकार उन्होंने हिंदू-विरोध का खुलकर विरोध करने का उत्तरदायित्व उठाया।⁹ उनके माता-पिता हिंदुत्व के प्रति पूर्ण समर्पित और राष्ट्रीय भावना से ओत-प्रोत थे, इसलिए उन्होंने इस प्रवृत्ति में मदनमोहन को पर्याप्त प्रोत्साहन और सहायता दी।¹⁰ इसके अलावा बाल्यकाल से प्राचीन धर्मग्रन्थों के कथानकों व उनके स्वाध्याय की प्रवृत्ति ने हिंदुत्व के भाव को सुदृढ़ता प्रदान की। ‘इतिहास समुच्चय’ नामक पुस्तक पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय के धर्म-संबंधी विचारों और ज्ञान को बढ़ाने में बड़ी सहायक सिद्ध हुई।¹¹ युवावस्था में उन्होंने अपनी धार्मिक व दार्शनिक जिज्ञासाओं के समाधान के लिए *मनुस्मृति* और *भगवद्गीता* का सूक्ष्म अध्ययन किया।¹² यहाँ कहना भी युक्तिसंगत होगा कि मालवीय जी के व्यक्तित्व एवं कर्तृत्व पर इन ग्रन्थों

का स्पष्ट प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

इसके अन्यत्र मदनमोहन मालवीय के अन्यान्य क्रियाकलाप भी उनकी लोकसंग्रही, हितैषी व धर्मनिष्ठ कृति को उद्घाटित करते हैं। वह अपने विद्यालय के उत्साही दल के नेता थे एवं अपने विद्यालय और पास-पड़ोस के अराजक, उपद्रवियों के सदा विरोध में रहते थे। इस बालमन में लोकसेवा की भावना भी कम नहीं थी। वह समय-समय पर सार्वजनिक सभाओं, मेलों और उत्सवों पर भीड़-भाड़ का नियंत्रण भी किया करते थे।¹³ पड़ोस के घर में लगी आग को बुझाने में अपनी चिन्ता न करते हुए प्राण संकट में डालकर आग बुझाना, समाज के प्रति उनके समर्पण के भाव को दर्शाता है।¹⁴

निःसंदेह पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी के मन में बाल्यकाल से ही धर्म के प्रति अनुराग था। उनका सम्पूर्ण जीवन हिंदू-धर्म के उच्च प्रतिमानों से परिपूर्ण रहा। उन्होंने धर्म को सार्वभौम रूप से धारण किया था जिसका प्रकटीकरण उनके समाजजीवन के कार्यों से होता है। उनके सदाचारी, कर्तव्यनिष्ठ, धार्मिक, सत्यवादी व्यक्तित्व के आधार पर ही अनेक समकालीन व कालान्तर के मनीषियों ने उनके यशोगान के लिए 'जागृत भगवान्', 'प्रातः स्मरणीय', 'राष्ट्रगुरु', 'महर्षि', 'महान् कर्मयोगी', 'हिंदुत्व की आत्मा', 'विश्वात्मा', 'धर्मात्मा' आदि विशेषणों का प्रयोग किया है।¹⁵

निश्चित ही पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय को हिंदू-धर्म और भारतीय संस्कृति की जो विरासत अपनी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि से प्राप्त हुई थी, उसका उन्होंने जीवनपर्यंत अक्षरशः पालन किया। समाज-जीवन के विविध आयामों में, चाहे वह सामाजिक क्षेत्र हो या राजनीतिक क्षेत्र, अपने कर्मक्षेत्र को कभी धर्म से पृथक् नहीं होने दिया।

मालवीय जी का धार्मिक-दार्शनिक चिन्तन

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी वैदिक (हिंदू) धर्म-संस्कृति के सच्चे अनुयायी थे। धर्म के संबंध में उनकी अपनी विशिष्ट विचारधारा थी। उनका सामाजिक व राजनैतिक नेतृत्व उनकी धार्मिक विचारधारा से विशेष रूप से प्रभावित था। हिंदू-धर्मग्रन्थों में 'धर्म' की विस्तृत विवेचना मिलती है। मालवीय जी जीवनपर्यंत सनातन धर्म का अनुशीलन करते रहे। अपनी व्यस्त दिनचर्या का अनुपालन करते हुए भी संध्या-वन्दन, जप, पूजा-पाठ के लिए समय निकाल लेना उनका धर्म और संस्कृति के प्रति इस प्रकार का प्रेम अनुकरणीय था। मालवीय जी ने अपने धार्मिक-दार्शनिक चिन्तन को कभी भी शाब्दिक भाषा में आबद्ध करने का प्रयास नहीं किया, अपितु उन्होंने धर्म की शास्त्रीय व्याख्या की और अर्थ को ही तार्किक दृष्टि से प्रस्तुत किया है। मालवीय जी धर्म के व्यावहारिक पक्ष पर अधिक बल देते हैं।¹⁶

मालवीय जी का सम्पूर्ण व्यक्तित्व वैदिक एवं औपनिषदिक ब्राह्मणत्व के तेज से मण्डित था। शास्त्रों की यह उक्ति कि 'ज्ञानकाण्ड, कर्मकाण्ड और उपासनाकाण्ड का प्रकाण्ड विद्वान् होता हुआ, देवता की आराधना में लीन शान्तचित्त, इन्द्रियों का दमन करनेवाला, दयालु होना, इन सब गुणों से ब्राह्मणों का निर्माण हुआ है'¹⁷— मालवीयजी के जीवन पर पूर्णरूप से चरितार्थ होती है। आचार्य बलदेव उपाध्याय ने उन्हें वास्तविक अर्थ में 'महात्मा' निरूपित करते हुए यह श्लोक उद्धृत किया है—

**‘विपदिर्धर्ममयाभ्युदये क्षमा सदसि वाक्पटुता युधि विक्रमः ।
यशसि चाभिकचिर्त्यसनं श्रुतौ प्रकृति सिद्धमिदं हि महात्मानाम् ॥’**

महात्मा के जो लक्षण यहाँ बतलाये गये हैं, वे मदनमोहन मालवीय में पूर्ण वैभव के साथ प्रकट थे। विपत्तियों में धीरता, अभ्युदय में क्षमा, सभा में वाक्चातुर्य, युद्ध में विक्रम, यश में अभिरुचि तथा शास्त्रश्रवण में अनुराग— इन छहों की सत्ता महामना में पूर्णरूपेण थी। 'महात्मा' उपाधि भी उनपर सर्वथा चरितार्थ होती है।¹⁸

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय वास्तविक अर्थों में सनातन (हिंदू) धर्म के आग्रही अनुयायी थे एवं उनके सम्पूर्ण जीवन की क्रियात्मक गतिविधियों पर धर्म का प्रभाव व्यापक रूप में परिलक्षित होता है। मालवीय जी के व्यक्तित्व और चिन्तन के सम्बन्ध में उपलब्ध सामग्रियों से यह सम्भावना बलवती होती है कि हिंदू-धर्म के सर्वमान्य ग्रन्थों, विशेषकर *भगवद्गीता* व *मनुस्मृति* के वचनों में उनकी अथाह श्रद्धा थी। वह अपने सार्वजनिक उद्घरणों में *मनुस्मृति* के वचनों का अधिकाधिक प्रयोग करते थे। उन्होंने मनुप्रोक्त धैर्य, क्षमा, बुरी वृत्तियों का दमन करना, अचौर्य, शौच, आत्मनिग्रह, विवेक, विद्या, सत्य, अक्रोध— धर्म के इन दस लक्षणों को अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन में चरितार्थ करने का अनुपम उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया है।¹⁹ वह गीता के श्लोक में '(ईश्वर) प्राणिमात्र में एक समान हूँ— के वास्तविक निहितार्थ के प्रतिपालक थे।²⁰ वह कर्मकाण्ड और नैतिकता— दोनों को धर्म का अंग स्वीकार करते थे, और उन्हें दोनों ही प्रिय थे। फिर भी धर्मविहित नैतिकता का प्रसार तथा उसके आधार पर सामाजिक व्यवहार का और व्यक्तिगत चरित्र का परिशोधन और नवनिर्माण ही उनका मुख्य उद्देश्य था।²¹

मालवीय जी ने अपने धार्मिक दर्शन में धर्म को सदैव शिरोधार्य मानते हुए सनातन धर्म के अनुरूप अपना जीवन व्यतीत किया। वह सनातन धर्म-संस्कृति के कठोर उपासक थे। मालवीय जी सनातन धर्म की महत्ता को स्पष्ट कहते थे कि पृथ्वी पर जो वस्तु मुझको सबसे अधिक प्यारी है, वह धर्म है और वह धर्म सनातन धर्म है।यह सनातन धर्म केवल मनुष्य मात्र में ही अपनत्व का भाव नहीं समझता, अपितु यह मानता है कि सृष्टि में जितने जीव-जन्तु आदि

प्राणी हैं सबमें एक परमात्मा की ज्योति प्रकाश कर रही है।.....यह सनातन धर्म ही है जो कहता है कि भूल से भी यदि जीव-हिंसा हो जाय तो उसके लिए प्रायश्चित्त करो। यह धर्म सत्य, दया और न्याय के ऊपर अविलम्बित है।²² पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय की हिंदू (सनातन) धर्म के सन्दर्भ में स्पष्ट अवधारणा थी जिससे ज्ञात होता है कि उनके अंतःकरण में हिंदुत्व का भाव ही उनके धार्मिक चिन्तन का आधार था। उनका अभिमत था कि सृष्टि में जितनी जातियों का इतिहास मिला है, उनमें हिंदू जाति सबसे प्राचीन है, इसको प्रायः सभी निष्पक्ष विद्वान् स्वीकार करते हैं। कोई केवल प्राचीनता के लिए आदर नहीं पा सकता।.... जबतक कोई विशेषता न हो, जबतक कोई आन्तरिक बल अथवा प्रबल शक्ति न हो तब तक कोई मानव जाति इतनी पुरानी होकर इस तरह जीवित नहीं हो सकती। चार वेद इस जाति के धर्म की निधि हैं, इन्हीं से सब धर्मों के स्रोत बहे हैं। हमारी इन श्रुतियों की परम्परा ने अपने स्रोतों से अन्य धर्मों को प्लावित करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है।... यदि केवल ये वेद ही यहाँ होते तो भी आपको अपना माथा ऊँचा करने का अवसर था, किन्तु श्रुति के साथ ही स्मृति, पुराण, धर्मशास्त्र, नीतिशास्त्र, समाजशास्त्र आदि का बहुत बड़ा पुंज है.... पृथ्वीमण्डल पर ऐसा कौन-सा धर्म है जिसमें वेद के समान ऐसा प्राचीन और पवित्र धर्मग्रन्थ है, जो ऐसे पवित्र धर्म का उपदेश करे?... वेदकाल से आता हुआ यह धर्म स्मृतियों तथा पुराणों के समय तथा आजतक बराबर स्थिर धर्म रहा है। इसके मूल सिद्धान्तों में कोई भेद नहीं आया। इतना ही नहीं, मेरा विचार है कि कल्प के अन्त तक यह धर्म बराबर ऐसा ही बना रहेगा, और कल्प के आगे भी 'यत्पूर्वम् कल्पयत्' के अनुसार इसी रूप में फिर हमको मिलेगा।²³ मालवीय जी की दृष्टि में धर्म वह तत्त्व है जो कि विश्व के मूल में है यथा जो समस्त आन्दोलनों तथा वैभवों का एवं सभी महानता एवं उत्कृष्टता की नींव है।²⁴ धर्म में असफल मानव समाज तथा राष्ट्र की विपत्ति का कारण बन जाता है।²⁵ मालवीय जी ने धर्म को सृजनात्मक स्वरूप में देखने की चेष्टा की है। वह इस मत के घोर विरोधी थे कि धर्म ही भारत के पतन का मुख्य कारण रहा है। मालवीय जी ने हिंदुओं की स्थिति को स्पष्ट करते हुए मत व्यक्त किया है कि धर्म में संलग्न रहने की बात तो दूर रही, भारतीय लोग वस्तुतः धर्म को ठीक से समझते ही नहीं। यही नहीं उन्होंने धर्म को एक खिलवाड़ बना लिया है तथा उसकी आड़ में अपनी काहिली, निर्बलता तथा मानसिक आसक्ति को छिपाने का साधन बना लिया है। उनके अनुसार धर्म के नियमों के अनुरूप आचरण न करना ही भारत के पतन का मूल कारण रहा है।²⁶ मालवीय जी का सनातन धर्म-संबंधी चिन्तन समग्रता का पोषक है। उनका यह अभिमत था कि घर में ब्राह्मण धर्म है, परिवार में सनातन धर्म है, समाज में हिंदू धर्म है, देश में स्वराज्य धर्म है और विश्व में मानव धर्म है।²⁷ उन्होंने अपने धार्मिक

चिन्तन में व्यक्ति के पारिवारिक दायित्वों में व्यक्तिगत भूमिका के साथ-साथ सम्पूर्ण विश्व में विराट् समग्रवादी मानव धर्म की भूमिका पर बल दिया है। वस्तुतः मालवीय जी वैदिक चिन्तन के अनुगामी थे, इसलिये उनका धार्मिक चिन्तन वैदिक उद्घोष 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' और 'सर्वजन हिताय सर्वजन सुखाय' से अनुप्राणित था।

मालवीय जी का परमार्थ एवं मानव-कल्याण की सांगोपांग व्याख्या ही मालवीय जी का सनातन धर्म है। ज्ञान, तप, सत्य, शुचिता की साधना से ही धर्म के उद्देश्यों को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। मालवीयजी ने धर्म को व्याख्यायित करते हुए कहा है कि धर्म के दीपक दो प्रकार के होते हैं, एक तो बड़ों के वचनों का उपदेश और दूसरा बड़ों के आचरण का उपदेश। आचरण का उपदेश वचनों के उपदेश से अधिक प्रभावशाली होता है।²⁸ उन्होंने पूर्वजों के श्रेष्ठ आचरण के अनुशीलन को ही धर्म का मूल माना है। महर्षि मनु ने धर्म की यही मीमांसा अपने ग्रन्थ में प्रतिपादित की है। वस्तुतः वह धर्म को धारण करने के अर्थ में ही ग्रहण करते थे। जिस आस्था, भावना, गुण एवं कर्म को धारण करने अथवा अपने व्यक्तित्व के द्वारा प्रकट करने से व्यक्ति के साथ-साथ समष्टि का सर्वांगीण अभ्युदय होता हो; जिससे सुख, शान्ति एवं आनन्द की प्राप्ति होती हो, वही धर्म है।²⁹ मालवीय जी ने आचरण के पर्याय के रूप में महापुरुषों, लोकनायकों के कार्यों और जीवन-वृत्त के अर्थ में धर्म को परिगणित किया है। मदनमोहन मालवीय धर्म के स्वरूप को अपरिवर्तनीय मानते थे। साथ ही धर्म की प्राप्ति के लिए आचरण की शुद्धता पर बल दिया करते थे। उनका विचार था कि जैसे मंदिरों को हम लोग शुद्ध रखते हैं और अपवित्र नहीं करते, उसी प्रकार हमें अपने हृदय-मन्दिर को सदा पवित्र रखना चाहिए।..... काम, क्रोध, मद, लोभ, मत्सर की मलीनता से उसको मैला न होने देना हमारा कर्तव्य है।³⁰ मालवीय जी ने ज्ञान को धर्म का पर्याय माना है। इसलिए वह आचरण की शुद्धता के लिए धर्मरूपी ज्ञान के प्रचार-प्रसार पर बल देते थे। उन्होंने समाज के स्वरूप के स्थायित्व के लिए धर्म को आवश्यक मानते हुए धार्मिक शिक्षा की महत्ता पर बल दिया। उनका अभिमत था कि जैसे शरीर-रक्षा के लिए भोजन आवश्यक है, उसी प्रकार मनुष्य को आध्यात्मिक भोजन की भी आवश्यकता होती है। इसलिए जैसे विद्यालयों में दर्शन, गणित, साहित्य, इतिहास, भूगोल, विज्ञान आदि विषय पढ़ाए जाते हैं, उसी प्रकार आध्यात्मिकता की शिक्षा भी मिलनी चाहिए।³¹ ध्यातव्य है कि मालवीय जी की कालावधि में हिंदू-धर्म अनेक वैचारिक संकटों के दौर से गुजर रहा था। यहाँ यह उल्लेख करना भी समीचीन जान पड़ता है कि मालवीय जी तत्कालीन भारत की समस्याओं के निराकरण के लिए हिंदू जीवन-पद्धति को ही श्रेयस्कर मानते थे। इसलिए उन्होंने हिंदू-धर्म के विभिन्न लक्षणों की सूक्ष्म व्याख्या अपनी पुस्तक 'हिंदू धर्मोपदेश' में

की है।

मालवीय जी ने तप और दान की महत्ता को भी व्याख्यायित करते हुए कहा है कि सच्चा तप यह है कि अपने भाइयों के ताप से तप जाय, सच्चा यज्ञ वह है कि जिसमें अपने स्वार्थ की आहुति दी जाय, सच्चा दान वह है कि जिसमें परमार्थ किया जाय और सच्ची ईश्वर-सेवा वह है जिसमें दुःखी जीवों की सहायता की जाय।³² इसलिए जो लोग शुद्ध मन से प्राणियों का परम कल्याण चाहते हैं, उनको उचित है कि वे उनको धर्म का उपदेश दें और उन्हें धर्म के मार्ग में लगावें। संसार की समस्त सम्पत्ति और भोग्य पदार्थ मिलकर मनुष्य को वह सुख नहीं दे सकते जो धर्म देता है। जितने दुःख और क्लेश मनुष्य को सताते हैं, उनके लिए एक सिद्ध ओषधि धर्म ही है।³³ क्योंकि मनुष्यों पर देश में व समाज में जितनी आपदायें आती हैं, उनका मूल कारण धर्म से विमुख होना है। दीनता, दरिद्रता, कायरता, आपस में द्रोह, एक-दूसरे की डाह, दूसरों की वस्तु को भोगने की चाह, झूठ, कपट, व्यभिचार आदि जो दोष मनुष्यों की तथा समाज की शक्ति को घटाते हैं, और उनको दूसरों का दास बनाते हैं, वे सब धर्म से विमुख होने के परिणाम हैं।³⁴

मदनमोहन मालवीय जी हिंदू-धर्मग्रन्थों के महान् ज्ञाता थे। इसलिए शास्त्रानुकूल आचरण की महत्ता पर बल देते थे। वह सनातन संस्कृति के प्रबल समर्थक थे, लेकिन वे समाज में प्रचलित रुढ़िवादी तार्किक नियमों में संशोधन के पक्षपाती थे। परन्तु वह हिंदू-धर्म की मूल्यपरक संस्थाओं को यथासमसामयिक संशोधन-परिवर्धन के साथ बनाए रखना चाहते थे। उनका विश्वास था कि ईश्वर आनन्दमय है। उसका दर्शन विलक्षण रसानुभूति है। ईश्वर की सिद्धि के लिए तर्क का आश्रय वृथा प्रयास है।³⁵

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी का तत्कालीन भारत में व्याप्त समस्याओं के समाधान का विकल्प हिंदू-धर्म व हिंदू-जाति के पुनरुत्थान को मानते थे। वह एक सशक्त हिंदू-राष्ट्र की परिकल्पना को यथार्थ रूप में साकार करना चाहते थे। इसलिए उन्होंने समाज व राष्ट्रोत्थान के लिए हिंदू-चिन्तन के आधार पर अपनी समाजोपयोगी कार्ययोजना को लोकजागरण का विषय बनाया। मालवीय जी के धार्मिक चिन्तन की सार्थक विशेषता यह थी कि उन्होंने हिंदू समाज को संगठित करते हुए हिंदू धर्म-दर्शन की लोकोपयोगी रूप में व्याख्या की। यहाँ यह कहना भी युक्तिसंगत होगा कि वह सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रवाद के पुरोधा थे, जिन्होंने व्यक्ति, समाज, राष्ट्र और राजनीति का प्रत्यक्ष तादात्म्य धर्म के साथ स्थापित किया। उन्होंने जनसामान्य में विस्मृत हो रहे वैदिक राष्ट्रधर्म का लोकजागरण किया। उन्होंने धर्म को बड़े-बड़े गुणों के समूह के रूप में स्वीकार करते हुए कहा है कि धर्म उन व्यवस्थाओं-नियमों का नाम है जो समाज को राज्य के भिन्न-भिन्न अंगों

को धारण किए रहते हैं और इसलिए इसे 'धैर्य' कहते हैं।³⁶ धर्म के जो मूल सिद्धान्त हैं, उन सबका उद्देश्य देश में शान्ति, समृद्धि और सुख उत्पन्न करना है तथा मनुष्य को पारलौकिक गहन विषयों का चिन्तन करने योग्य बनाना है।³⁷ उन्होंने धर्म को लोकसंग्रह की शक्ति मानते हुए लोकजागरण के प्रयासों को गति प्रदान की। वह मानते थे कि संसार में सब पदार्थ बदलते रहते हैं, सुख-दुःख होते रहते हैं, किन्तु धर्म नित्य है, धर्म कभी नहीं बदलता। यदि प्राण भी जाता है तो धर्म मत त्यागो।³⁸ उन्होंने आत्मज्ञान की शक्ति को महत्त्वपूर्ण मानते हुए उसे मनुष्य के पशुत्व को ईश्वरत्व में परिणत करने का मार्ग निरूपित किया।³⁹

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय जी ने अपने धार्मिक चिन्तन का सामञ्जस्य वर्तमान विशृंखलित परिस्थितियों के साथ किया। वह भारतीय संस्कृति की इस विशेषता से परिचित थे कि समयानुरूप धार्मिक व्यवस्थाओं की पुनर्व्याख्या से ही हिंदू-समाज का उद्धार किया जा सकता है। उनका धार्मिक चिन्तन समसामयिक था। इसलिए उन्होंने तत्कालीन हिंदू जीवन-पद्धति में सांस्कृतिक विशृंखलन के तदनुरूप प्रचलन में आई सामाजिक बुराइयों का प्रबल विरोध किया। वस्तुतः उन्होंने धर्मशास्त्रों पर आधारित जीवन-दर्शन को महत्त्व दिया। हिंदू-धर्म के अभ्युदय के लिए किए गए उनके कार्य अतुलनीय हैं। यहाँ यह कहना समीचीन जान पड़ता है कि उन्होंने अपने सामाजिक, धार्मिक, राजनीतिक चिन्तन के अनुकूल लोकधर्म की साधना को महत्त्व प्रदान करते हुए लोकहितैषी चिन्तन को सर्वोपरि मानते हुए तर्क को महत्त्वपूर्ण माना। *भगवद्गीता* ही मालवीय जी के धार्मिक तर्कों का आधार थी। वह धर्मयुक्त हिंसा के समर्थक थे, लेकिन वह उस हिंसा के विरोधी थे जो किसी निर्दोष या किसी निश्चित हेतु प्रत्यय के अभाव में की जाती है। उनका मत है कि यदि कोई तुम पर वार करता है तो वह आततायी है उसको मारो, किन्तु निर्दोष जीव की हत्या न करो।⁴⁰ उनका अभिमत है कि जो स्त्रियों पर या किसी दूसरे के धन पर, धर्म पर या प्राण पर वार करते हों, या जो भी किसी के घर में आग लगाते हों, यदि ऐसे लोगों को मारे बिना, अपना या दूसरों के धर्म-प्राण या धन की रक्षा न हो सके तो उनको मारना ही धर्म है।⁴¹ मालवीय जी मानव धर्म के प्रेरक थे। इसलिए उन्होंने अपने धर्मचिन्तन के द्वारा लोकसेवा को परम धर्म के रूप में स्वीकार किये जाने पर बल दिया। मालवीय जी का मानना था कि अपनी इच्छा से बिना किसी बंधन या स्वार्थ के किसी दुःखी प्राणी की सेवा करने से बड़ा यज्ञ और कुछ नहीं है। असहाय प्यासे को पानी भूखे को अन्न, शीत से सताये हुए को वस्त्र देना, जले हुए के घाव पर मलहम लगाना, डूबते को बचाना, रोगी को ओषधि देना, अन्धों का सहारा देना, अनाथ बच्चों और विधवाओं के माता-पिता बनना, ठग-लुटेरों और अन्यायी विधर्मियों से सताये

जानेवालों का रक्षक होना, समाज की निःस्वार्थ सेवा करना भी किसी यज्ञ से कम नहीं है।⁴² मालवीय जी हिंदू-धर्म की पतनोन्मुखी दशा से व्यथित थे। हिंदू-धर्म में उच्चतम जीवन-दर्शन के जिस क्षरण का उन्होंने अनुभव किया, उसके सुधार के लिए वह कृत्संकल्पित थे। इसलिए उनका चिन्तन प्राचीन वैभवपूर्ण हिंदू-दर्शन के आदर्शों का क्रियात्मक रूप था।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्वतः ही ज्ञात होता है कि पं० मालवीय जी का धर्म-विषयक चिन्तन सदाचार, शिष्टाचार एवं लोकाचार-प्रधान है। स्पष्टतः यहाँ उन्होंने 'लोक' शब्द को देश या राष्ट्र के रूप में उद्धृत किया है। पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय राष्ट्र को जनता का प्रकट रूप ही मानते हैं। वह लोकसेवा, लोकसंग्रह, लोक के लिए सर्वस्व समर्पण, उसी के सुख में सुख एवं दुःख में दुःख का अनुभव करने आदि को परम धर्म बताते हैं।⁴³ निश्चित ही मालवीय जी हिंदू धर्म-दर्शन के द्वारा भारत का उत्थान करना चाहते थे। इसीलिए उन्होंने देशभक्ति को लोकभक्ति के साथ व्याख्यायित किया। उनका विचार था कि निर्धनता, निर्बलता, अज्ञानता एवं अन्य किसी भी तरह के कष्ट में पड़े हुए प्राणियों को उससे मुक्त कराना ही एक मनुष्य का सर्वश्रेष्ठ धर्म है, यही सनातन धर्म है।⁴⁴ उन्होंने राष्ट्रोत्थान के निमित्त वैदिक धर्म से स्फुटित, अंकुरित हुए अन्य मत-सम्प्रदायों— आर्यसमाजी, बौद्ध, जैन, सिख, ब्रह्मसमाजी आदि आपसी सद्व्यवहारों की एकता, सहिष्णुता व स्नेह का समर्थन किया। उनके धार्मिक चिन्तन को विश्लेषित करते हुए लिखा गया है कि 'दो जबर्दस्त भावनाओं का उनके मन पर साम्राज्य था। प्रथमतः मानव की ज्ञानशक्ति का शिक्षा द्वारा जो विकास होता है, उस शिक्षा के प्रसार का सतत् प्रयत्न और द्वितीय जिस परतंत्रता के कारण मानवोचित गुणों का ही लोप हो जाता है, उस परतंत्रता से देश का छुटकारा। ये दो भावनाएँ वृक्ष की दो शाखाओं के सदृश एक ही मूल से निकली थीं और उसकी जड़ थी देशभक्ति।'⁴⁵

पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय अपने धार्मिक चिन्तन का प्रत्यक्ष संबंध देशभक्ति के साथ स्थापित करते हैं। सनातन धर्म के मूल्यवान् आदर्शों को वह राष्ट्रजीवन के लिए आवश्यक मानते थे। इसलिए उन्होंने हिंदू-जाति के उत्थान के लिए भरसक प्रयास किये। धर्म और राष्ट्र के प्रसंग में मालवीय जी ने हिंदू-धर्म के समस्त मतों के आपसी सामञ्जस्य को उद्घाटित किया। वह धर्म को ही हिंदुओं की निधि मानते हैं और हिंदुत्व को राष्ट्रीयता का आधार। मालवीय जी ने हिंदुत्व के उत्थान को ही विश्व के सृजन और संवर्धन का मार्ग मानते हुए उसके पतन को विश्व के विनाश के साथ स्थापित किया है।⁴⁶ हिंदुत्व का परित्याग करके भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता जीवित नहीं रह सकती। आधार सुरक्षित रहना चाहिए। यहाँ न तो संकरता अभीष्ट है और न दुर्बलता क्योंकि आदर्श की प्रतिष्ठा वहीं उसके द्वारा होती है।⁴⁷ मालवीय जी ने

हिंदुओं का आह्वान किया है कि यदि देश का अभ्युदय चाहते हो तो भारत, भगवद्गीता और भागवत का उपदेश कण्ठ में धारण करो..... भगवान्, भागीरथी, भारती, भाषा और भारतवर्ष में भक्ति करो... विद्या और ज्ञान के प्रचार से ही तुम्हारा कल्याण होगा और उसके लिए तुमको सब प्रकार से यत्न करना चाहिए कि देश में कोई बालक और बालिका निरक्षर न रहे..... सत्कार्य के लिए, विद्या की वृद्धि के लिए, दुखियों का दुःख दूर करने के लिए सुपात्र को दान दो और सब जीवों पर दया करो। अपने देश के लिए अपना तन, मन, धन, जहाँ जिसकी आवश्यकता हो, होम करो।⁴⁸

सन्दर्भ :

1. वैदिक काल में ऋषि अगस्त्य एक ऐसे महान् चिन्तक मनीषी थे जिन्होंने वैदिक धर्म की स्थापना और लोकजागरण के निमित्त प्राचीन बृहत्तर भारत में प्रचलित मानव सम्प्रदायों को एक करके लोकसंग्रह करने का अद्वितीय कार्य किया था। विस्तार जानने के लिए देखें, अरुण, *भारत की पहली धार्मिक क्रांति*, यश पब्लिकेशन, नयी दिल्ली (पाद-टिप्पणी)
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भारतीय संविधान की प्रासंगिकता एवं अपेक्षित परिवर्तन

डॉ० सतीश चन्द्र मित्तल *

कि

सी भी देश का संविधान उसकी जनभावना की अभिव्यक्ति, दृढ़ संकल्प का परिचायक, संस्कृति एवं राष्ट्र-चिन्तन का द्योतक तथा भविष्य का मार्गदर्शक होता है। संविधान की जड़ें उसके अतीत, साहित्य, दर्शन, अध्यात्म, परम्पराओं में होती हैं। यह राष्ट्र की सांस्कृतिक-सामाजिक विरासत तथा भावी चिन्तन तथा नीतियों का बोधक होता है। आवश्यक है कि संविधान देश की आत्मा, प्रकृति, रुचि, स्वभाव के अनुकूल हो।¹

यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि संविधान अपने आपमें कोई साध्य नहीं है, बल्कि यह साधनमात्र होता है। मूलतः संविधान समाज के लिए होना है, न कि समाज संविधान के लिए। विश्व के अनेक देशों में समय-समय पर अनेक संशोधन, परिवर्तन तथा समाजोपयोगी न रहने पर नवीन संविधान की रचना हुई है।²

महात्मा गाँधी का कथन है कि संविधान का वैशिष्ट्य इसमें है कि देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक, स्त्री-पुरुष, युवा-वृद्ध इससे परिचित हो तथा प्रत्येक उसमें अपनी भागीदारी का अनुभव करता हो। सीधा-सा विचारणीय बिन्दु है कि संविधान के लागू होने के 67 वर्षों के पश्चात् भी भारतीय जनमानस अपने संविधान के प्रति उदासीन क्यों है? ग्राम, कस्बे, नगर तथा महानगर में रहनेवाले नागरिक इससे अपरिचित क्यों हैं ?

यद्यपि भारतीय संविधान बनाने की प्रक्रिया 1940 से ही प्रारम्भ हो गई थी। परन्तु औपचारिक रूप से भारतीय संविधान सभा की स्थापना ब्रिटिश कैबिनेट मिशन योजना के अंतर्गत 16 मई, 1946

ई० को ही की गयी।³ संविधान सभा-जैसे अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण विषय के लिए कोई नये चुनाव नहीं किये बल्कि इससे पूर्व केवल 13 प्रतिशत मताधिकार का प्रतिनिधित्व करनेवाले अप्रत्यक्ष वोटों से आनुपातिक ढंग से चुनकर लोगों को मान लिया गया। नये चुनाव के लिए पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू (1889-1964) भी पक्ष में न थे। बाद में इसमें कुछ और निर्वाचित सदस्यों को जोड़ा गया था। स्वाभाविक रूप से इसमें पढ़े-लिखे युवकों, दुकानदारों, व्यापारियों, किसानों तथा मजदूरों का कोई प्रतिनिधित्व न था, परन्तु वे इसके सदस्य अवश्य थे जो पहले मुस्लिम लीग के सदस्य या द्विराष्ट्रवाद के सिद्धान्त के पोषक थे। संविधान सभा में इनके व्यवहार के प्रति बार-बार शंका जताई गई थी। इस संविधान सभा की कार्यवाही 09 दिसम्बर, 1946 से 26 नवम्बर, 1949 तक चली। इन लगभग तीन वर्ष, 165 दिनों में ग्यारह अधिवेशनों में कार्य हुआ। इन अधिवेशनों में 7,635 संशोधन प्रस्तुत किये गये, जिसमें केवल 2,473 संशोधनों पर चर्चा हुई। संविधान में मूल रूप से 395 अनुच्छेद, 22 विभाग तथा 8 अनुसूचियाँ थीं। यह समस्त कार्यवाही 6,440 पृष्ठों में प्रकाशित हुई तथा इस पर कुल व्यय 63,96,729 रुपये हुआ। इस संविधान में 90,000 शब्द हैं। बी०डी० बसु ने इसे विश्व का सबसे विस्तृत, तथा प्रसिद्ध संविधानशास्त्री एम०बी० पाइली ने इसे हाथी-जैसा भारी-भरकम बतलाया है।

यह उल्लेखनीय है कि भारत के प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू प्रारम्भ में संविधान बनाने के महत्वपूर्ण कार्य को ब्रिटेन के सुप्रसिद्ध संविधानशास्त्री सर विलियम आइवर जेनिंग्स (Sir William Ivor Jennings : 1903-1965) को सौंपना चाहते थे।⁴ संविधान के सन्दर्भ में उनका महात्मा गाँधी से भी ज़रा भी तालमेल न था। भारतीय संविधान किसी भी अर्थ में गाँधीवादी न है और न ही यह गाँधी जी के 'हिंद स्वराज' के अनुरूप है, जो संसदीय प्रजातंत्र को अभागीय तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक मानता है। यह संविधान गाँधी जी द्वारा

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प्रदत्त उस संविधान के प्रारूप के भी अनुकूल नहीं है जो उन्होंने अपनी मृत्यु से तीन दिन पहले तैयार किया था तथा जिसमें उन्होंने कांग्रेस का विघटन करके ग्राम-पंचायतों के आधार पर राष्ट्र-निर्माण का स्वरूप रखा था।⁶

इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि डॉ० बी०आर० अम्बेडकर (1891-1956) का भारतीय संविधान बनाने में अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा परन्तु इसमें उनकी आत्मा न थी। संविधान-निर्माण के लिए सात सदस्यों की कमेटी डॉ० अम्बेडकर के नेतृत्व में स्थापित की गई थी, परन्तु एकाध को छोड़कर प्रायः सभी इसकी प्रक्रिया के प्रति उदासीन थे। इस सन्दर्भ में मद्रास के टी०टी० कृष्णमाचारी (1899-1974) का कथन उल्लेखनीय है, जिसमें उन्होंने बतलाया कि कमेटी में सात व्यक्ति नियुक्त किए गये थे। एक ने त्यागपत्र दे दिया जो बदला गया। एक की मृत्यु हो गई तथा उसकी स्थानपूर्ति न हुई। एक अमेरिका चला गया तथा उसका स्थान नहीं भरा गया। एक अन्य राज्य के कार्य में ज्यादा व्यस्त रहा। एक अन्य दिल्ली से दूर था तथा स्वास्थ्य ठीक न होने की वजह से भाग न ले सका। अतः संविधान-निर्माण का कार्य एक ही व्यक्ति डॉ० अम्बेडकर के कंधों पर आ पड़ा और इस जिम्मेवारी के कार्य के लिए हम उनके ऋणी हैं।⁷

परन्तु डॉ० अम्बेडकर भी संविधान बनाने के लिए मन से तैयार नहीं थे। उन्होंने 1953 में कहा⁸, “लोग प्रायः कहते हैं कि मैं भारतीय संविधान का निर्माता हूँ। मेरा जवाब है कि मैं तो हीक् था। मुझे जो भी करने को कहा, मैंने अपनी इच्छा के विरुद्ध किया।” उन्होंने पुनः कहा, “महानुभाव मेरे मित्र कहते हैं कि मैंने संविधान बनाया। मैं यह कहने के लिए बिल्कुल तैयार हू कि मैं पहला व्यक्ति हूँगा जो इसे जला देगा। मैं इसे नहीं चाहता। यह संविधान किसी भी व्यक्ति के लिए उपयुक्त नहीं है। जब पंजाब के एक सदस्य डॉ० अनूप सिंह ने पूछा, आप इसे जलाना क्यों चाहते हैं? इसके उत्तर में 19 मार्च, 1955 को डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने पुनः राज्यसभा में कहा, “आप इसका उत्तर चाहते हैं। हमने देवता के आगमन तथा उनके आसन के लिए एक मन्दिर बनाया, परन्तु इससे पूर्व कि देवता वहाँ स्थापित हो, असुरों ने उस स्थान पर कब्जा कर लिया। अब क्या किया जा सकता है? सिवाय इसके कि मन्दिर को ध्वस्त कर दिया जाए।”

इतना ही नहीं, भारतीय संविधान सभा के अध्यक्ष डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद (1884-1963) भी समय-समय पर उसकी कार्यवाही से क्षुब्ध रहे। यहाँ तक कि उन्होंने 24 नवम्बर, 1949 को भारतीय संविधान की प्रति पर हस्ताक्षर करते समय अपना क्षोभ प्रकट करते हुए कहा कि भारत के संविधान की मूल प्रति किसी भारतीय भाषा में न होकर अंग्रेजी में है तथा भारतीय संविधान में किसी भी संसद् सदस्य या विधानसभा के उम्मीदवार के लिए शिक्षा की कोई भी शर्त नहीं

रखी गई है।

भारतीय संविधान के बनते ही चहुँओर तत्कालीन नेताओं की आशा के विपरीत भयंकर प्रतिक्रिया हुई। इसे प्रासंगिकता तथा उपयोगिता के विपरीत बताया गया। इसे यूरोपीय संविधान, यूरोपीय-अमेरिकन संविधान, स्वाधीनता के पश्चात् अपना पृथक् किन्तु ब्रिटेन द्वारा दिया गया भारतीय संविधान, कांग्रेस के हिसाब से बना संविधान, आपाधापी में बना संविधान, आदि कहा गया। कुछ ने इसके निर्माण में लॉर्ड माउंटबेटन, पं० नेहरू तथा आई०सी०एस० अधिकारी श्री बी०एन० राव को ही जिम्मेदार बतलाया।

यह कहना ग़लत न होगा कि भारतीय संविधान में भारतीय संस्कृति, परम्परा तथा इतिहास-दृष्टि का पूर्ण अभाव है। भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के तृतीय मुख्य न्यायाधीश श्री मेहरचन्द महाजन (1889-1967) ने अपने एक लेख में 1935 के एक्ट पर आधारित संविधान को ‘दासत्व की प्रति’ (Slavish Copy) बतलाया। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के छठे मुख्य न्यायाधीश श्री भुवनेश्वर प्रसाद सिन्हा (1899-1986) ने नयी दिल्ली में सितम्बर, 1966 में एक विचार-गोष्ठी में संविधान का अधिकतर भाग 1935 के एक्ट पर आधारित बतलाया। एक प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् लालवाणी¹² ने भी इसकी उद्देशिका, मूल अधिकारों, राज्य के नीति-निर्देशक तत्त्वों आदि बड़े-बड़े शब्दों के पीछे 1935 के एक्ट की ही छाप माना है। उनके अनुसार पुराने ढाँचे को भारत के राजशिल्पियों ने एक नयी प्लास्टर-सामग्री (यानि अमेरिका, इंग्लैण्ड, आयरलैण्ड तथा आस्ट्रेलिया के संविधानों) से जोड़कर बनाया है परन्तु वे इसे एक सतत समन्वय देने में पूर्ण असफल रहे। डॉ० सम्पूर्णानन्द (1891-1969) ने मद्रास में एक भाषण में कहा कि भारतीय संविधान में कुछ भी भारतीय नहीं है। हिंदू महासभा के एक प्रस्ताव में कहा गया¹³ कि संविधान मात्र एक हास्यास्पद चित्र नहीं बल्कि पाश्चात्य संविधान का एक गड़बड़झाला है। यह प्राचीन भूमि की सुन्दरमय संस्कृति तथा परम्पराओं के बिल्कुल विपरीत है। प्रसिद्ध विचारक श्री दीनदयाल उपाध्याय (1916-1968) ने एक लेख में कहा इस संविधान का पुरस्कार करें या विस्तार करें या बहिष्कार करें।

संविधान सभा के अनेक सदस्यों ने भी उसकी प्रासंगिकता पर अनेक प्रश्न खड़े किये। प्रमुख सदस्य एम० अनन्तशयनम् आयंगर (1891-1978) ने इसे पश्चिम के कुछ पुराने संविधानों का पैचवर्क कहा तथा इसे 1935 के एक्ट की नकल (Replica) बताया। श्री केंगल हनुमंतथैयूया (1908-1980) ने कहा, “हम चाहते थे वीणा या सितार का संगीत, पर यहाँ हमारे पास है इंग्लैंड के बैण्ड का संगीत।”¹⁴ श्री एच०वी० कामथ ने कहा¹⁵ कि हमने अन्य देशों के संविधानों से बहुत कुछ लिया तथा प्रश्न किया क्या हमने कुछ अपने अतीत से भी लिया है? क्या भारत की राजनैतिक तथा आध्यात्मिक प्रतिभाओं से भी

कुछ लिया है ? उन्होंने पुनः कहा श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी यू०एन०ओ० में बड़ी गर्मजोशी से कहती हैं कि हमने पेरिस से स्वतन्त्रता, समानता और भ्रातृत्व लिया है पर यह नहीं बतलाया कि भारत से क्या लिया? इसी प्रकार की चर्चा कई सदस्यों ने की तथा इसे जनभावना का बिल्कुल विपरीत बतलाया।

अनेक विदेशी विचारकों तथा शोधकर्ताओं ने भारतीय संविधान के स्वरूप तथा इसकी प्रासंगिकता पर अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। ब्रिटेन की एक सरकारी रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि भारत के सिद्धान्तों का आधार ब्रिटिश मॉडल है जो वहाँ के गणतंत्र के फैले प्रकृति के अनुरूप अपनाया गया है।¹⁶ कुछ विशेषताएँ यू०एस०ए०, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, कनाडा व आयरिश रिपब्लिक से ली गई हैं। माइकल ब्रीचर ने इसके 235 अनुच्छेदों को 1935 के एक्ट को यथावत् अथवा मामूली परिवर्तन के साथ बताया तथा इसमें भारतीय चिन्तन का पूर्ण अभाव माना है। एक प्रसिद्ध अमेरिकी विद्वान् सर थियोडोर ने लिखा¹⁸ कि यह संविधान उपनिषद्, रामायण तथा महाभारतवाले देश में सोचा भी नहीं जा सकता। यह उस भारतीयता का चिन्तन नहीं करता।

प्रसिद्ध गाँधीवादी चिन्तकों तथा विचारकों ने इसमें ग्राम, ग्राम पंचायतों तथा ग्राम-स्वराज्य की प्रासंगिकता को पूरी तरह गायब पाया। श्री महावीर त्यागी (1899-1980) ने अपनी व्यंग्यात्मक शैली में कहा, “आखिर गाँव को क्या मिला। केवल वोट का अधिकार।” श्री टी० प्रकाशम (1872-1957) ने कहा, “गाँवों को भुलाकर हमने अनेक वर्षों के स्वतन्त्रता-संघर्ष को एक ही एक झटके में विस्मृत कर दिया गया। सचमुच में अनेक योजनाओं का ढोल पीटने के बाद भी गाँव व ग्रामवासी वहीं खड़े हैं जहाँ 1947 में थे।”²⁰ प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् धर्मपाल (1922-2006) ने संविधान पर फिर से सोचने तथा गाँवों को अपने राजनैतिक ढाँचे में स्थान देने को कहा है।²¹ प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार प्रकाश जोशी²² ने इसे कबाड़ियों के जंगल में भटकता लोकतंत्र माना है। विद्वान् लेखक भामिनी सेनगुप्त ने संविधान के व्यवहारिक स्वरूप को देखते हुए कहा, “प्रजातंत्र झूठे, अर्धसत्यों चालाकियों तथा षड्यन्त्रों के चार पहियों पर नहीं चलेगा।” सन् 1997 में श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने कहा कि भारत का संविधान पारिस्थितियों की उपज है। इससे पूर्व संविधान पद्धतियों का अध्ययन नहीं किया गया। यह संविधान हड़बड़ी में बना है।

संक्षेप में यदि 26 जनवरी, 1950 से जबकि संविधान लागू हुआ तब 10 मई, 2013 तक राज्यसभा में प्रस्तावित राजीव प्रताप रूडी के संविधान-संबंधी बिल²³ पर विचार करें तो भारतीय संविधान को विभिन्न अनुच्छेदों के प्रति भारतीय जनमानस में बड़ी बेचैनी रही है। इसका मुख्य कारण विदेशी संविधानों की नकल पर सौंपा गया संविधान, भारतीय मानस को किञ्चित् भी स्पर्श नहीं कर पाया और न

ही यह प्रासंगिक तथा जनोपयोगी बन पाया। संविधान की उद्देशिका से लेकर देश का नाम, मौलिक अधिकार, नागरिकता का प्रश्न, राज्य के नीति-निर्देशक तत्त्व, ग्राम-पञ्चायतों की स्थिति, राष्ट्रभाषा, राष्ट्रगान, 370 की धारा, 356 के अनुच्छेद का दुरुपयोग, दलबदल तथा भ्रष्ट राजनीतिक सदस्यों की समस्या, शक्ति का विकेन्द्रीयकरण, शिक्षा तथा भाषा के झगड़े, वित्तीय नीति आदि अनेक प्रश्न भारतीय मन को शान्त न कर सके।

संविधान को प्रासंगिक तथा उपयोगी बनाने के लिए समय-समय पर संशोधन-परिवर्तन तथा समीक्षा की गई है। पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू, इन्दिरा गाँधी तथा राजीव गाँधी के प्रधानमंत्रित्व काल में 58 संविधान-संशोधन प्रस्ताव पारित हुए जिनमें 32 संशोधन अकेले इन्दिरा गाँधी के काल के हैं।²⁴ 2000 ई० तक 79 संशोधन हुए जिसमें 69 काँग्रेस के प्रधानमंत्रियों के काल में हुए हैं। अब तक लगभग 100 संशोधन हो चुके हैं।

इस सन्दर्भ में अभी तक सात समितियाँ संविधान के संशोधन या परिवर्तन के लिए बन चुकी हैं। पहली समिति 1950-51 में बनी जिसके सुझाव पर नयी अनुसूची बनी तथा कुछ विषय न्यायालय-समीक्षा से सुरक्षित रखे गए। दूसरी समिति 1954 में बनी जिसमें न्यायालयों को सरकार के अधीन रखने का सुझाव था जो स्वीकार न हुआ। तीसरी समिति 1967 में बनी, जिसमें संविधान के मूल चरित्र तथा मौलिक अधिकार की पहली बार व्याख्या की गयी। चौथी समिति 1976 में इन्दिरा गाँधी द्वारा आपातकाल (1975-77) में बनी। इसमें लोकतंत्र को पंगु बनाने के कई उपाय थे। पाँचवीं समिति के आधार पर 43वें तथा 44वें संशोधन-विधेयक पारित किये गये। छठी समिति 1980 में संविधान का पुनः निरीक्षण करने रणजीत सिंह सरकारिया (1916-2007) की अध्यक्षता में गठित की गयी। इसमें केन्द्र तथा राज्य-सम्बन्धों के लिए एक आचारसंहिता बनाई गई, पर उसे लागू नहीं किया गया। इस सन्दर्भ में अन्तिम समीक्षा के लिए श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी के प्रधानमंत्रित्वकाल में जनवरी, 2000 में उच्चतम न्यायालय के 25वें मुख्य न्यायाधीश एम०एन० राव वेंकटचलैया (1993-94) की अध्यक्षता में 11 सदस्यों का आयोग बना। इसने अपनी 1,976 पृष्ठों की रिपोर्ट 249 सिफारिशों के साथ भेजी जिस पर कोई विचार-विमर्श न हुआ। इसकी सिफारिशें मुख्यतः दलबदल की समस्या, गरीबी दूर करने के मार्ग, अनुच्छेद 356 के सन्दर्भ में केन्द्र की मनमानी, गवर्नरों की नियुक्ति तथा हटाना, पंचायतों को मजबूत बनाने, शक्ति के विकेन्द्रीयकरण आदि के बारे में थी। इस आयोग के गठन का काँग्रेस तथा विरोधी दलों के द्वारा कड़ा प्रतिरोध हुआ। वस्तुतः श्रीमती इन्दिरा गाँधी द्वारा अकारण देश में आपातकाल की घोषणा, राजनीति के साम्प्रदायिककरण तथा वोट की राजनीति ने

भारतीय जनमानस में भारतीय संविधान के प्रति संदेह तथा आशंकाओं को बढ़ाया है। संविधान गत 67 वर्षों में भारतीय जनसमाज की समस्या तथा आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति न कर पाया। पुरानी व्यवस्थाएँ चरमरा रही हैं। विगत लगभग दस वर्षों में देश प्रायः अस्थिर अवस्था में है। चारों ओर व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार, घोटालों तथा काले धन की कोई सीमायें नहीं रही हैं। गरीबी, महंगाई, भुखमरी, कुपोषण, अशिक्षा तथा शिक्षा का गिरता स्तर, बेरोज़गारी रसातल तक पहुँच गई है। राजनेताओं द्वारा चुनाव जीतना संविधान की सर्वाधिक सफलता का मापदण्ड लगने लगे हैं। लोककल्याण, लोकमंगल तथा लोकनिर्माण उन्नति के निम्नतम पायदान पर पहुँच गया है। भारतीय संविधान अप्रासंगिक बन गया है।

सच तो यह है कि विश्व में सबसे लम्बा-चौड़ा और हाथी-जैसे संविधान को दिखाने के दाँत और हैं और खाने के और; इसकी जड़ें भारत की संस्कृति तथा अध्यात्म में न होने के कारण व्यवहार में यह इतना कारगर साबित नहीं हुआ जितने परिश्रम से इसे तैयार किया गया था। यह संविधान सम्पूर्ण देश की भावनाओं का प्रतीक न बन सका। यह भी सच है कि भारत का संविधान गुलाम भारत में औपनिवेशिक मानसिकता से ग्रसित लोगों ने गढ़ा था। यह संविधान हड़बड़ी में बना था। वैसे भी संविधान-निर्माण की परिस्थितियाँ बिल्कुल बदल गई हैं। 1947 की तीस करोड़ जनसंख्या से अब देश की जनसंख्या एक सौ पच्चीस करोड़ हो गई है। भारतीय ग्राम तथा ग्रामवासी विकास की छवि से बहुत धीमी से आगे बढ़े हैं। संविधान में अब भी भारतीय संस्कृति तथा परम्परा का पूर्ण अभाव है। भारत के अनेक मुद्दे देश की एकता, अखण्डता तथा दृढ़ता में बाधक बने हैं। अनेक महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे, जैसे— समान नागरिक संहिता, अनुच्छेद 370 की विभेदकारी धारा, अनुच्छेद 356 का पक्षपातपूर्ण रवैया, केन्द्र-प्रांतों के अस्पष्ट सम्बन्ध, सुलभ, सस्ते तथा शीघ्र निर्णयों में न्यायालयों की विफलता, देशद्रोहियों, राजनैतिक हत्यारों तथा अनेक अपराधियों को कठोर सजा न मिलना, नागरिकता की शर्तें तथा राज्यपालों, प्रधानमंत्री, मुख्यमंत्रियों की सीधी नियुक्तियों की बढ़ती प्रथा, भाषा तथा जाति से जुड़े अनेक प्रश्न, देश की बाह्य तथा आंतरिक सुरक्षा, गिरते जीवन-मूल्य, शिक्षा तथा बेरोज़गारी आदि समस्याएँ पूर्ववत् हैं। समय-समय पर अनेक संविधान समितियाँ भी प्रभावशाली परिवर्तन नहीं ला पाई हैं।

अतः समय की आवश्यकता लगती है कि भारतीय संविधान पर पुनर्चिन्तन हो। भारतीय जीवन-मूल्यों तथा संस्कृति के अनुरूप संविधान में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन हो। संविधान की समीक्षा हो। अपेक्षित संशोधनों के लिए राष्ट्रव्यापी बहस हो। अन्यथा भारत के लिए एक नवीन गणतंत्रात्मक संविधान बनाया जाये। आखिर वर्तमान संविधान कोई ब्रह्मवाक्य नहीं है जिसे सुधारा या बदला न जा सके।

आखिर इसमें हर्जु क्या है ? संक्षेप में भारतीय संविधान ऐसा हो जिसकी जड़ें अतीत में हों। वर्तमान की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति करे तथा भविष्य के लिए प्रेरक तथा मार्गदर्शक हो।

सन्दर्भ :

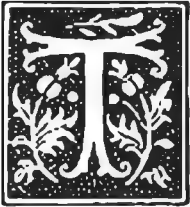
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Europe Perceives History

Prof. T.P. Verma

I. The Background

Journey to History Consciousness



he European, better call it now the Western model of history, in spite of many shortcomings, is the only acceptable model in the academic world today. Although it is hardly two centuries old in conception, now there survives no other model to contests its expediency because during this

period systematic effort were made to create an atmosphere of hatred and contempt for the histories of other ancient civilizations, India being most prominent among them. A psychological war was waged among the past eight to ten generations of the Hindus by capturing educational institutions in India. Now, in this country only the Western model of history and archæology prevails. The Puranic history, especially the chronology is looked with contempt. Ironically, during the last seven decades of independence the national governments in India also did nothing to replace this implanted history from the education system. But, however, our analysis of the background of Western history shows that European perception of history was prompted by its contact with the ancient civilization of India three centuries ago and many of its perceptions appear based on thesis/antithesis of the Hindu history. This shows that the two prominent elements that initially shaped Europe's perception of history are: 1) faith in Biblical history and chronology, and 2) opposition of the Puranic history that was looked

as a challenge to that concept.

It is, however, interesting to analyse how a people who call themselves Europeans (actually no people as Europeans and no continent as Europe on the globe ever existed before sixteenth century; geologically speaking it does not exit even today) emerging from long spell of barbarism, slavery and intellectual suppression became world power by the middle of nineteenth century through power of arms, piracy and genocide. The real history behind this achievement is greed for land and power that was acquired by wanton aggression and destruction of many a cultures and civilizations. Deception and treachery played its role to gain power, especially in America. In Africa campaign was launched to civilize the native blacks by exploitation, genocide and improving their breed. Though contact with the great civilization of India made Europe conscious about its own past, being ruled by the British empire many of its positive qualities were negated and demeaned to establish the lame, poor and unsound speculative hypotheses of history and the Christian chronology. To do this, as naturally can be expected, it was necessary to ignore and suppress the superior source to prevent any possible threat.

There can be little doubt that the Western model of history is a product of immature imagination and speculation of the enthusiasts who only recently emerged from centuries long spell of ignorance. A peep into the history of Europe makes it abundantly clear that Europe first suffered suppression and slavery of the Romans and then fell pray to the Church which was against all new thoughts that was not supported by the Biblical dogma. About five centuries ago, i.e. from fifteenth century onwards Europe tried hard to ward off the

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shackles of ignorance but during this period it passed through many stages of rigors and atrocities of their rulers and tribal wars. From this emerged a new Europe which was industrious, skilful, methodical and above all curious about all new things that met their way. These qualities helped Europe to emerge as world power but the inherent barbarism and lust for power and pelf is ostensible through out. This mental setup, as analysed hereunder, underlies the 'Western concept of history'.

Search for Roots in Rome and Greece :

After the Age of Enlightenment and acquaintance with other civilizations, especially India, there emanated a consciousness among Europeans about their own past that motivated them to search for roots. The claim that Europe directly inherited the culture and civilization of Roma is not the whole truth. The Roman empire was confined only to the southern parts of Europe and it had more extension in northern Africa and Western Asia. Most of the northern Europe was out of the pale of Rome's barbaric rule. From the history point of view Rome's was a foreign hegemony for the Southern Europe too, though its centre was in what is now Italy. History records that after the Roman armies left Europe there was a political void which was partly compensated by the Church but it had become a synonym of all sort of exploitation and suppression, mental, spiritual and economic. When the Roman armies were withdrawn from southern parts of Europe the entire subcontinent was infested with the barbarian tribes aspiring for supremacy over one another, and it took many centuries for the Church to bring some type of unity through religious regimentation. During the Age of Enlightenment many groups were engaged in exploration, encouraged by the Church, for wealth and conversion. This resulted in gaining political supremacy over many continents through brute force, deceit and suppression. All these factors immensely influenced European perception of history and it will be instructive to analyse this background which is attempted hereunder for the first time.

The other claim of European inheritance of culture and civilization of ancient Greece also does not stand scrutiny. The fact is that there was no direct connection, political or otherwise, of the Greeks with Europe; they came to know about the

Greek literature and history through the Arabs.

Rebirth and Enlightenment :

Initially the consciousness about history in Europe was prompted by the desire to establish respectable ancestry for the European nations after they came in contact with ancient civilization of India and discovered that there were many common words between Sanskrit and European languages. This linguistic similarity prompted to the conclusion of a common ancestry, fondly called Indo-Europeans. Thus began a probe into their roots.

They started from a big void because for the last one and half a millennia most of the Europe was little more than a incoherent congregation of barbaric tribes. This long period is known to the historians as Dark Age.¹ Then followed the Age of Renaissance, i.e. Rebirth (14-17 centuries); actually this is considered as the beginning of a new incarnation of the barbaric people from the darkness of ignorance. The next two centuries (18 and 19) are called the Age of Enlightenment.

It is, however, interesting to know the assessment of some eminent European scholars about these two periods. Here we reproduce from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia².

“For Kant, Enlightenment was mankind's final Coming of Age, the emancipation of the human consciousness from an immature state of ignorance. According to historian Roy Porter, the thesis of liberation of human mind from the dogmatic state of ignorance that he argues was prevalent at the time is the epitome of what the age of enlightenment was trying to capture. According to Bertrand Russell, however, the enlightenment was a phase in a progressive development, which began in antiquity, and that reason and challenges to the established order were constant ideals throughout that time.”

It is worthy of notice that by this time the concept of Europe as a cultural or geographical unit had yet to take shape; it could never achieve a political unity. There also existed little knowledge about the civilizations of ancient world. Perhaps some remembrance of Roman hegemony was there. Obviously, when these philosophers speak of the '*mankind's coming of age*' and '*liberation of human mind from the dogmatic state of ignorance*' they are referring to the peoples of Europe and not those of other civilizations of Asia and Egypt. When Ranke

announced 'World history was the history of West' he, along with other Europeans was relishing the misconception that the history of Europe is the history of world. Many European historians still seem to believe this.

The nomenclature of the two periods of European history goes to suggest that they, (it is only an afterthought history) as a unit, had just born in the fourteenth century and emerged from the state of ignorance after the seventeenth. Undoubtedly, this emancipation from ignorance was the result of Europeans coming into contact with other cultures and civilizations of the world; not through peaceful means but through piracy, conquests and desire to spread Christianity in other continents. The consequence was disastrous for most of the civilized world, many of them lost their civilization and identity for ever.

Ignorance and superstitions were so dominant in Europe that the women folk were treated as inhuman beings bereft of soul. They were denied education and human rights till as late as the nineteenth or even in early twentieth century. The case of Madam Curie is typical who faced severe difficulties in getting admission in university for higher studies, but once given a chance she showed her talent and was awarded the Noble Prize twice. Her daughter also received once. Innumerable women folk had to suffer atrocities during this period. This goes to prove that the suppression of people by the Church during thousands of years deprived humanity of immense contributions by Europeans that any one could expect of them. A large number of European savants who, once unleashed from the intellectual bondage, showed their best in almost all fields.

The zeal and enthusiasm of the age of enlightenment was so great that within a century or so they had translated almost all important literature of the ancient world in European languages. Scholars of different European nations were in contact with each other and free discussions, exchange of ideas on variety of subjects became a usual practice in the academia. But there was a rampant feeling of religious bigotry, racial prejudices and colonial interest that hampered free and subjective treatment, especially in the field of history. The Europeans were not conscious of their past initially. In an attempt to create a respectable ancestry, their vanity and ego of success all over the

world, stood in the way that superseded sound reasoning. This became the guiding principle of the European perception of history. Consequently a novel Eurocentric history was created.

Christianity was the only binding force for the Europeans and therefore the religion was in the centre of history and chronology. Europe's perception of history was obsessed throughout by the biblical dogma. There was neither a concept of time nor a foresight in history. Writing about the history from St. Augustine to Hegel Sri Vasudev Poddar³ quotes Karl Jaspers saying as follows:

"In the Western World the philosophy of history was founded in the Christian faith. In a grandiose sequence of works ranging from St. Augustine to Hegel, this faith visualised the movement of God through history. God's acts of revelation represent the decisive dividing lines. This Hegel could still say: "All history goes towards and comes from Christ. The appearance of the Son of God is the axis of world history. Our chronology bears daily witness to this Christian structure World of history."

This view of history can be the religious belief of Europeans but not the percept of history applicable worldwide. Karl Jaspers further notes: "But the Christian faith is only one faith, not the faith of mankind. This view of universal history therefore suffers from the defect that it can only be valid for the believing Christians."

This European percept was applied to the world history and the biblical chronology of the origin of universe beginning from about six thousand years ago was imposed on all ancient civilizations. This model was enforced by capturing educational systems in the colonies and their traditional history was tailored to fit in this framework. According Arnold J. Toynbee this was "European Illusion". In the middle of last century he was among the world's most read and discussed British historian but now lost favour because of his bold criticism of the European perception of history. He notes:

"But apart from illusions due to the world-wide success of the Western Civilization in the material sphere, the misconception of 'the unity of history' -- involving the assumption that there is only one river of civilization, our own, and that all others are

either tributary to it or else lost in the desert sands – may be traced to three roots: *the egocentric illusion, the illusion of 'the unchanging East', and the illusion of progress as a movement that proceeds in a straight line.*"⁴ (emphasis by us).

Needless to say, this formed the fundamental aspect of the European perception of world history. This illusion was imposed on other civilizations because they assumed the burden of writing history of the world on their own model.

After rebirth (Renaissance) adolescence came with the age of Enlightenment in Europe. The worldwide success inspired the Europeans to write a history of the world, but they had no pattern before them. This was something like a young person, devoid of experience and cultural background, attempts to write about human past entirely based on speculations, assumptions and imaginations. One speculation is often discarded in the light of a better speculation, and this has happened in cases of many theories that were abandoned without ado. In a way, West's perception of history is a story of 'trial and error'. To this characteristic may be added Darwin's theory of evolution of species which played vital role in the shaping history and prehistory of human race. It prompted, in the beginning, to assume four races of human kind emerging from four different species of primates. Though now, in the light of advances in different sciences, especially the genetics, Darwin is losing ground but the conservative Western historians refuse to change accordingly. The theory is that man biologically evolved from apes and primates and began his travel towards civilization as 'man the tool-maker', is the contribution of Darwin's theory of evolution. Here the emphasis is only on the technical aspect of human history. The role of 'sapient man' endowed with the faculty of talking and reasoning has little place in human history. The term 'homo-sapient', i.e. as intelligent as we Europeans, for a species of 'early man' exhibits arrogance of the propounder. The technology aspect dominates the entire range of history and prehistory. In the Western philosophy of history intellectual and spiritual achievements of man have little role.

Kant is perfectly right when he noted that the newly born (Renaissance) Europe gained 'consciousness' (Enlightenment) only by the

eighteenth century and it began its journey to civilization with a 'Great Blank', before that it had undergone through a long period of ignorance and barbaric stage. There was too little to claim as cultural background. Though 'the world-wide success of the Western Civilization in the material sphere' provided political superiority in all the continents but their mental setup had not improved accordingly. This affected their perception of history. Moreover, they achieved political supremacy through brute force and deceit that gave rise to the Invasionist model of history. Furthermore, as these achievements were the outcome of the pursuit for material wealth and technology it resulted in the model of development from 'man the tool-maker' to hunter-gatherer stage, to cattle-breeding, to food producer and then to the stage of manufacturer of many things. These two elements dominate the European perception surmounted by Darwin's theory of evolution of species and 'survival of the fittest' that prompted to the presumption that man evolved from apes and other primates, and, that 'might is always right'. In this scheme 'man the intelligent' has no place. So also spiritual qualities and quest for higher philosophy of life and the purpose of human existence, its relation with the universe and its creator was pooh-poohed as redundant and superfluous.

India as Catalyst to History Consciousness :

It has been stated above that Europe became conscious about its own history after coming in contact with the Indian civilization and its literary treasure. It is a truth, though never confessed, that there was a craze in the sixteenth century Europe to reach India which culminated in two great discoveries: of America by Christopher Columbus (1450-1505) and of India by Dom Vasco de Gama (1460-1524). Both were pirates operating in neighbouring seas and often clashed with each other. It is said that the Pope, through a Bull, assigned two different directions of operation to avoid conflict between them. The eastern region was allotted to the Portuguese pirate Vasco de Gama and western region to the Spanish pirate Columbus. Both were eager to reach the fabulous country India to gain control over the trade of Indian spices which were the most precious commodity in the rich households in Europe. India's fame was not only for its spices but at that time it was the most wealthy and civilized country on the globe with

unparalleled wealth of literature. Columbus is said to have tried his luck by going westward to reach India on the basis of emerging theory in Europe that earth is round. It is said that 'Washington Irving's 1828 biography of Columbus populated the idea that Columbus had difficulty obtaining support for his plan because many Catholic theologians insisted the Earth was flat.' But, however, he finally was able to reach America and this is a well known story to relate here. This is presented as a great discovery for the Europeans but the fact that he began his voyage in search of India is never underlined. But the names like Indies and West Indies for some American regions and Red Indians for indigenous people speaks volumes about the objective behind this difficult and hazardous voyage of Columbus.

While the westward journey of Columbus proved materially productive to the Europeans the eastward voyage of Vasco de Gama was more fruitful from academic and history point of view. Besides the British exploitation of economic and other resources of India the entire Europe academically benefited with the discovery of linguistic connections of Europe with India. This, in fact, triggered a great academic interest among Europeans leading to the consciousness about their own history and roots. It was discovered that the European languages have a good number of words, through Latin, which are common with the Indic languages also. In other words it can be said that India played catalyst to ignite consciousness about the linguistic studies as well resulting in the theories of Indo-European (IE) and Proto-Indo-European (PIE) which was later appropriated as race dogma.

The Discovery of Sanskrit:

Dr. B.K. Ghosh of the University of Calcutta notes "It was the Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti, after five years' stay in Goa (1583-1588), declared for the first time that there existed a definite relation between Sanskrit and some of the principal languages of Europe. But that this relation is due to origin from a common source was suggested only in 1786 by Sir William Jones in his famous address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal."⁵ This discovery attracted European scholars towards Sanskrit and it opened the doors of the largest ancient literature in the world for them. It also gave rise to many disciplines in linguistics.

Investigative Europeans had recognised interrelationship among the languages of Europe

even earlier. It is said that J.J. Scaliger (in 1610) distinguished eleven European language groups such as Germanic, Slavic and Romance that were supposed to have commonly derived from Hebrew. Another scholar Andreas Jaeger in Wittenberg (in 1668) recognised interrelationship among many ancient languages of Europe and Asia and advanced a mother-daughter relationship among them. Descendants of the ancestral language included Persian, Greek, Italic ... the Slavonic languages, Celtic, and Gothic. It was a common belief in Europe, after the biblical legend of the Tower of Babel, that initially there was only one language spoken by humanity. Thus the Hebrew was supposed to be that common source.

But, with the discovery of Sanskrit situation changed considerably. Edwin Bryant⁶ notes "Once Sanskrit had become accessible to British scholars, its connection with the classical languages of Europe was suspected even before Jones's proclamation. Halhed had noted the possibility a few years earlier. James Parsons, too, physician and fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquities, had also associated Indic with the European languages in 1776. ... Jones's status and reputation, however, ensured that news of this language connection reverberated through the academic halls of Europe.'

We reproduce here famous declaration of Jones and then give our comments because it was not spontaneous or natural outburst but a premeditated project that determined the future of linguistic studies and later gave rise to the concept of Indo-European and Proto-Indo-European.

"The Sanskrit language, *whatever may be its antiquity*, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in roots of verbs and forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to *have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists*: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old

Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.”⁷ (Emphasis by us)

Here he uses the terms 'perfect', 'copious' and 'refined' for Sanskrit as compared to both ancient languages in 'structure', 'refinement', 'roots of verbs' and 'grammar' etc.; but with reservations. First reservation is reflected in his observation 'whatever may be its antiquity'. This apparently innocent phrase paves the way for the subsequent European scholars like Max Muller to assign a late date for the R̥gveda to about twelfth century before the Christian era. The other reservation lies in the phrase 'to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists'. This premeditated phrase prompted linguists to speculate not only a common mother language, other than Sanskrit, but also some common ancestors for all. The credit goes to Max Muller to create the notion of an 'Aryan' race that was abused to the extreme by European scholars. For them the 'Aryans' were not the Sanskrit speaking R̥gvedic people but the speakers of a Proto-Indo-European language from which originated all the Indo-European languages who initially lived somewhere (anywhere) but India. But, however, neither this original home of the 'Aryans' could be agreed upon nor the exact nature of the Proto-Indo-European could be decided till date. They all agree on the point that history, culture and civilization originated in Europe and it spread to east and south; the sequence being Indo-Europeans > Indo-Iranians > Indo-Aryans (in India).

Literary Wealth of Europe for History :

The discovery of Sanskrit exposed Europeans to a vista of literary wealth with highly sophisticated language that excels in bulk and subject matter to the rest of the ancient world. Literature on history in Sanskrit is enormous. In comparison to this Europe stands nowhere. To compensate they looked towards Roma and ancient Greece, but as we have seen there exists very little relation between them. The Romans were distinct from savage Europeans while the Greeks were black skinned and heathens in belief. However, let us accept the claim and assess their literary wealth.

As regards the ancient Greeks there are only two major epics, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to their credit, but when compared with the Indian

epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as records of history in details and comprehension these Greek epics stand nowhere. However, even Homer's nationality as a Greek is doubtful. Here follow some excerpts about Homer, the author of these epics, adopted from internet.

‘There is uncertainty about the name, life, time and nationality of its author, Homer who perhaps was not even a Greek.’ ‘The satirist Lucian, in his *True History*, describes him as a Babylonian called Tigranes, who assumed the name Homer when taken “hostage” (*homeros*) by the Greeks.’ ‘The conclusion of modern researches is that Homer dates between 750 and 650 BC.’ ‘Archaeologists have avowedly searched for the city of Troy and have tried to determine how much, if any of it, is true.’

David Frawley is more specific on ancient literary sources of Europe on history. For this they look towards Asia (except India) and Africa. He writes “The oldest literary sources we have from the ancient Greek world are the works of Homer (c. 700 BC). From the Middle East, the oldest extant books are those of Hebrew *Bible*. While parts of the Old Testament are much older, as a whole much of it was redone after 500 BC. It endured the vicissitudes of Egyptian and Assyrian conquests and the Babylonian captivity. The *Gāthās* of Zoroaster are also old, dating from before the founding of the ancient Persian empire (c. 525 BC), but they are later than the Vedic. They are also fragmentary since their greater portions were destroyed by the Greek and Muslim conquests of Persia. From China the oldest book is the *I Ching*, though only its core portions date to 1000 BC or earlier. While *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* is much older than these (to 3000 BC) no living tradition or record of its interpretation has survived for us.”⁸

This is all about the ancient European sources of history under the category of literature that has been utilized by European scholars who created a novel 'World History' that today dominates the academic world. Moreover, the biblical chronology adopted in delineating world history is so faulty and insufficient that within a span of only two centuries necessity of its revision is being felt but, as detailed below, there seems no way out. Various hypotheses and theories in almost all branches of history that were advanced by

European savants appear shots in darkness and wandering aimlessly. It is little more than the history for the sake of story telling. Therefore, it seems pertinent to launch an enquiry into the psycho-cultural and historical background of the European perception of history. To our estimate, the fault lies with the lack of historical and cultural background of the Europeans, accompanied by the arrogance that comes with sudden rise through brute use of power of arms.

Knowledge travelled from India to Europe through Arab:

History relates that Europe is indebted to the Arabs from whom they derived knowledge of many subjects, and in turn, the Arabs are indebted to the Hindus (Indians) for many of their knowledge.

'The general perception about the scientific achievements of the Mediaeval period is that the Arabs undertook translation of Greek texts that had not been accessible to academics after the Byzantine emperor Justinian had closed down the 900 year old Academy of Plato in 529 and unleashed persecution against the pagan (i.e. the non-Christian) scientists. This knowledge later travelled to Europe via Arabs, and Europe came to claim it to be its own heritage.'

'History also shows that the Arabs had embarked upon the translation of Sanskrit texts from India much before that (900 CE). According to Tabqatul Umam a delegation from India came to Baghdad in 771, some 250 years after the death of Āryabhaṭṭa. This delegation consisted of an astronomer called Kanaka, who carried with him a small library including a book titled *Sūrya Siddhānta* and works of Āryabhaṭṭa and Brahamagupta.'

'According to the Arab historian al-Qifti, the caliph was amazed by the brilliance of these Indian texts. On his order, these works were translated into Arabic by Al-Fazari, who subsequently emerged as the first Arab astronomer of great repute. Over a period of time, this Arabic version gained fame under the title of *Sindhind* and became popular as a text of mathematics and astronomy all over the Muslim world including Spain from where it travelled to Europe and was translated into Latin in 1126. This work

revolutionized the study of mathematics and sciences and replaced the cumbersome Roman numerals. It is interesting to note that while Europe has christened the new system as Arab numerals, the Arabs call them Hindsa (Indian numerals) giving credit where it is due.'

'The other important area influenced by Indian ethos and morality was *adab* that is the embodiment of sensible counsel in the form of fables. The literary masterpiece of Ibn Muqaffa, *Kalila wa Dimna*, is based on the stories of Panchtantra and Mahabharata and is considered a classic of early Arabic prose. But it is not just that. We also find mention of translations of Varahmihir, Brihat Jatak, Krishna Avtar and Vishnu Puran in *Kitabul Hind* by Al-Biruni, the brilliant historian who came with Mahmud of Ghazni's armies and stayed behind to live with Brahmins, learn Sanskrit and write his extraordinary work on India.'

'The long list of Sanskrit manuscripts that were translated into Arabic and catalogued in detail by Arab historian Ibn Nadeem in his classic *Fehrist* (Bibliographical index) is an epitome of acknowledgement of the contribution that Indian sciences made in building the Golden Age of Islam.'

This excerpt gives an idea of Europe's standing in the field of academics as well as to the original source of the knowledge in early Mediaeval period. This travel of knowledge from India to Europe through Arab has been regarded, in the words of German scholar Raymond Schwab the *first* "Oriental Renaissance" in Europe, while the *second* one came with the direct acquaintance of Sanskrit literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

II. From Indomania to Indophobia

The introduction of Sanskrit literature in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century was largely welcomed. It created many admirers in the Continent which was natural, unsolicited and spontaneous. Europeans were then in the age of enlightenment and many were mentally prepared to welcome all knowledge from anywhere without bias or prejudice. The most attracting feature of Sanskrit literature, that attracted Europeans, was its long chronology and detailed treatment of history which

was welcomed as fresh air in the biblical dogma of the *Books of Genesis* where brief period for human history and long life spans of patriarchs like Adam and descendants were stirring the mind of intellectuals of the continent. But this honeymoon could not last longer, because after the victory in the battle of Plassey in 1757 the British occupied entire Bengal and later whole of the subcontinent. This sealed the fate of India and its history, culture and literature became the victim of the conquerors' ravage who shaped it to suit their ambition of perpetuation of the Raj by demoralising the Hindus, but the Muslims were spared because of their bigotry and hostility. There remained only one relation between the two; i.e. of 'the rulers and the ruled'.

Thomas R. Trautmann⁹ rightly says

"The mere fact of conquest pressed more heavily with the passage of time, and as it appeared to become a permanent and immovable fact it bred contempt for Indians and their civilization."

He points out that there are 'evidence for the existence of a British enthusiasm for India, beginning, say, in 1760s (shortly after the conquest of Bengal) and continuing into the early nineteenth century." This he calls 'Indomania' which later transformed into what he calls "Indophobia". In his words "British Indophobia was above all a deliberate attack upon the built-up structure of a prior Indomania; it was devised to oppose it."¹⁰

Edwin Bryant gives a brief account of this early Indomania. He notes "John Holwell, Nathaniel Halhead, and Alexander Dow— all associated in various capacities with the British East India Trading Company— had relayed back to an eager Europe gleanings from Puranic sources that described an immense antiquity for the human race. These provided the ranks of disaffected Christians, such as vociferous Voltaire, with valuable materials with to attempt to shake off the constraints of Judo-Christian chronology and to refute Jewish or Christian claims to exclusive mediation between man and Providence. Halwell, for ones, believed that the Hindu texts contained a higher revelation than the Christian ones, that they predated the Flood, and that "the mythology, as well as the cosmology of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans were borrowed from the doctrines of the Brahmins." Halhead, too seemed to take the vast periods of time assigned to the four yugas quite

seriously, since "human reason ... can no more reconcile to itself the idea of Patriarchal ... longevity" of a few thousand years for the entire span of the human race. Dow was instrumental in presenting Europe with a deistic image of India whose primitive truths owed nothing to either Jews or Christians."¹¹

Indomania : Through the writings of these employees of the British East India Trading Company Europe was introduced with the knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Hindu civilization and many of them welcomed it. The ancient Indian historian Pt. Bhagavad Datt wrote an essay entitled 'Western Indologists : A study in Motifs'¹² which is revealing. Here are some excerpts.

"In the Vikram year 1875 (1818 AD), August Wilhelm von Schlegel was appointed the first professor Sanskrit in the Bonn University of Germany. Friedrich Schlegel was his brother. He wrote in 1865 V. (1808 AD) a work entitled 'Upon the Languages and Wisdom of the Hindus'. Both brothers evinced great love for Sanskrit. Another Sanskritist Hern Wilhelm von Humboldt became the collaborator of August Schlegel whose edition of the Bhagavad Gita directed his attention to its study. In Samvat 1884 (1827 AD) he wrote to a friend saying: 'It is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show'. At that very time Arthur Schopenhauer (1845-1917 V. i.e. 1788-1860 AD), a great German philosopher, happened to read the Latin translation of the Upanishads (1858-1859 V. i.e. 1801-02 AD), done by a French writer Anquetil du Perron (1788-1862 i.e. 1731-1805 AD) from the Persian translation of prince Dara Shikoh (1722 V. i.e. 1665 AD), named Sirr-e-Akbar - the Great secret. He was so impressed by their philosophy that he called them 'the production of the highest human wisdom' and considered them to contain superhuman conceptions. The study of the Upanishads was a source of great inspiration and means of comfort to his soul, and writing about it he says, 'It is the most satisfying and elevating reading (with the exception of the original text) which is possible in the world; it has been solace of my life and will be solace of my death.' It is

well-known that the book '*Oupnekhat*' (Upanishad) always lay open on his table and invariably studied before retiring to rest. He called the opening up of Sanskrit literature 'the greatest gift of our century', and predicated that the philosophy and knowledge of the Upanishads would become the cherished faith of the West."

Pt. Bhagavad Datt further notes

"Such writings attracted German scholars more and more to the study of Sanskrit, and many of them began to hold Bharatiya culture in great esteem. Prof. Winternitz has described their reverence and enthusiasm in the following words: "When Indian literature became first known in the West, people were inclined to ascribe a hoary age to every literature work hailing from India. They used to look upon India as something like the cradle of mankind, or at least of human civilization." Winternitz further adds that "He (Schopenhauer) was the first among the Western people to speak of this in an incomparable manner - in that great cloudburst of European-Christian atmosphere." "This impression was natural and spontaneous" he continues. "It was based on truth and had no element of bias."

Dr. Trautmann makes distinction between the British and other European scholars. He records "British Indomania did not die of natural causes; it was killed off. The Indophobia that became the norm in the early-nineteenth century Britain was constructed by Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism..."¹³ Edwin Bryant¹⁴ also notes "Such challenges stirred up considerable controversy in Europe, fuelled by intellectuals such as Voltaire adopting such material in endeavour to undermine biblical historicity." Bryant further notes "Naturally, such drastic innovations were bitterly opposed by other segments of the intelligentsia. For well over a millennium, much of Europe had accepted the Old Testament as an infallible testament documenting the history of the human race. Thomas Maurice, for example, complains bitterly in 1812 about "the daring assumptions of certain skeptical French philosophers with respect to the Age of the World ... arguments principally founded on the high assumptions of the Brahmins ... [which] have a direct tendency to overrun the

Mosaic system, and with it, Christianity."

Indophobia Created : So an academic interest was subjected to religious rivalry in which the European academia participated. A new history of the civilization of the Hindus was created by the British with a view to perpetuate the Raj in which all sorts of tactics, psychological, administrative and coercive were adopted to establish that the Hindus always had been suppressed by the invaders from outside. The Hindus had to watch these blatant excesses helplessly because all educational institutions were captured to infest their minds and voices of criticism were pooh-poohed with contempt. Edwin Bryant (3) rightly notes "Although India was initially entertained as the homeland of all the Indo-Europeans, various arguments were raised against this proposal, and Indian civilization was construed as the joint product of an invading Indo-European people --the Indo-Aryan branch of the family-- and indigenous non-Indo-European peoples. Yet although taking it upon themselves to determine the history of the Indian subcontinent in accordance with the currents of scholarship that have ebbed and flowed in academic circles in Europe over the decades, Western scholarship have generally been unaware, or dismissive, of voices from India itself that have been critical over the years of this European reconstruction of their country's history."

The Boden Professor in Sanskrit : The chair of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford was established in 1832 with the money bequeathed by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Boden, a retired soldier in the East India Company. This endowment was initiated with a view to convert Hindus to Christianity. H. H. Wilson was appointed its first professor in 1832 and M. Monier-Williams succeeded him in 1860 after his death in 1860 and worked till 1899 till death. Though the reforms of Oxford implemented in 1882 removed all mentions of Boden's original purpose to form the chair Monier-Williams underlines it in following words:¹⁹

"I must draw attention to the fact that I am only the second occupant of the Boden Chair, and that its Founder, Colonel Boden, stated most explicitly in his Will (dated August 15, 1811 A.D.) that the special object of his munificent bequest was to promote the translation of Scriptures into Sanskrit; so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the

conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion.”

The conversion of the Hindus was the cherished desire of every employee of the East India Company and the missionaries working here and, in fact, all Europeans in the Continent were for it. The creation of Indophobia culminated into racial hostility presenting an image of India, especially of who were Hindus, the most uncivilized, dirty and European dishonest people on earth. These were full of defiance and hatred for everything that was Indian. For example, one Charles Grant was an employee of the East India Company and during the last decade of eighteenth century advocated an aggressive relationship between India and the Company by completely disparaging Indian laws, religion, and character. Writing about the despicable natives of India he stresses “In the worst parts of Europe, there are no doubt great numbers of men who are sincere, upright, and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon.” Edwin Bryant writes (23) ‘Most significantly, he made absolutely no reference to the kinship of Sanskrit and the European languages.’ This exhibits the deep rooted inimicality for everything that is Indian. Bryant observes that ‘Grant was quick to criticize scholars who had never visited India, thereby undermining the relevance of their scholarship to the real world: “Europeans who, not having *resided* in Asia, are acquainted only with a few detached features of the Indian character.” Another Christian poster Reverend Alexander Duff also was critical of the common origin of the Aryans and says that the Hindus ‘can point to little that indicates their high original’. He also ranted that they ‘have no will, no liberty, no conscience of their own. They are passive instruments, moulded into shape by external influences – mere machines, blindly stimulated, at the bidding of another, to pursuits the most unworthy of immoral creatures. In them, reason is in fact laid prostrate. They launch into all the depravities of idol worship. They look like the sports and derision of the Prince of darkness.’ Edwin Bryant again notes (24) that “The extreme Indophobic discomfort with the connection of Sanskrit with Greek and Latin was exemplified by the conviction of the Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart, who without knowing a word of the language, proposed that Sanskrit was a cognate of Greek, it *was* Greek. It had been borrowed by the wily Brahmins during Alexander's conquest and

adopted to keep their conversations inaccessible to the masses.’

Such extreme and blunt utterances show how the common Christian on the continent reacted to the Indomania that was the result of an academic discussion about the commonality of the languages in Europe and Asia. This percolated down from the higher level engaged in creating the phobia against everything that is Hindu and suppressing all sort of likings and appreciation for the Hindu civilization; and, undoubtedly they were highly successful in the endeavor.

No doubt, this fear was created among the Europeans to negate the Indomania, but the real problem was to meet the challenge of a superior civilization and the extremely scientific and exhaustive language that had presented a permanent threat. As a fore-fend two pronged strategy was launched. First : to denounce and demean India's ancient literature as mythology and as devoid of the sense of a true history. To enforce the Western model of history a campaign was launched to bring down date of the Hindu literature. It was not without reason that, in spite of Max Muller's open confession that “no power on earth will ever determine” the date of the R̥gveda they continue his old estimate of 1200 BCE for its date. Similarly dates of the epics Mahabharata and Ramayana and other Puranas are dragged into the Christian era. This tendency continues among the Indian scholars though most of them have never studied these works except in translation. Second : to counter the concept of high antiquity of India's history bring down its date in comparison to other civilizations of West Asia and Egypt. For this it was accepted that ‘history’ begins with the use of writing. To compensate the lapses in history the idea of ‘prehistory’ was floated. The subject is treated in the next section.

Thus the European perception of history is infested by two inherent elements (though denied or never accepted): i) the shadow of Biblical history and chronology follows throughout, it persists even after regular revisions, and, ii) fear of the Hindu perception of history which also haunts till date. The first of these was more manifest in the nineteenth century but gradually there appears some sort of reformation but the underlying Christian prejudice could not be eliminated. So far as the second element is concerned, its presence can be sensed in

several paradigms of European perception of history as detailed in the section that follows. It is not without reason that the subject 'historiography' under Wikipedia there are entries on Chinese historiography, Christian and Islamic but not the Hindu or Indian historiography. It is not unexpected if viewed in the light of Indophobia created by Europeans. But, on analysis we find that Indian or Hindu history is without parallel in the world with largest literature, so if it is ignored there cannot be ordinary reason behind.

III. The Perception

Definition :

It is claimed that "The term history is derived from Greek *historia*, meaning "inquiry, knowledge acquired by investigation" is the study of the past, especially how it relates to human." This definition seems modern adaptation of the subject and does not reflect the ancient understanding of the term '*historia*' (the word should be *istoria* because hard accents are not in Greek otherwise 'Hind' could not be '*Ind*') by the Greeks themselves because the renowned Greek philosopher Aristotle was of the opinion that 'poetry is superior to history because poetry speaks what must or should be true rather than merely what is true.' (This English rendering of Aristotle's sentence also seems doctored.) However, while thrashing out the truth from chaff in this sentence it is not far off to understand that Greeks were not conscious about history, perhaps it was 'little more than story' for them. R.G. Collingwood specifically declared "To the Greek historians, therefore, there could never be any such thing as a history of Greece."²⁰

Śri Vasudev Poddar (200 ff.) discussing the Greek history notes that we now know that there was a great Mycenaean culture before Homer but he only slightly refers to it. No Greek source ever mentions this. Many a historians doubt whether Greek was spoken before Homer's time. The Greeks had no concept of time. In spite of a long history in the eyes of Greeks it was only few hundred years. Some available legal documents contain only the figure of hundred, no trace of date is there. That is why the history of Greece from Trojan period till date is in dark. Homer is supposed to flourish in 9th century BCE and there is nothing about the history of Greece except the names of some officers and priest. No trace of kings and their family exists there. Herodotus (480-43 BCE), who is being presented as

the father of history and Thucydides (4th century BCE) both write nothing about the history of Greece; their accounts are only about their contemporary neighbouring kingdoms. Herodotus is confined to Greco-Persian war of his time while the subject matter of Thucydides is Peloponnesian War. Both of them shed no light on the past history of Greece. Next important name that comes in the history tradition is that of Polybius (c. 198 BCE) but he also goes only 150 years before his time. It is interesting that he is of the opinion that nothing definitely can be said about the Peloponnesian War.

So far as facts are concerned, Poddar stresses that, Herodotus has not used the term evidence; Thucydides uses this for the first time : 'When I consider in the light of evidences, etc.' We have quoted above the idea of Aristotle in whose eyes poetry was more reliable than history because it speaks the truth. Europeans themselves were not confident about history in Homer's poetry till nineteenth century when the great archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann declared that Homer's poetry was not a fiction but history. Till then Europe was engaged in discussing the origin of universe in 4004 BCE.

Western thinking about history and the past is based on pyramids and graves related with the symbolism of the dead. In this there is no clear concept for the time-past and future. Human history goes only to the discovered mortal remains; all investigations and thinking is confined to that. It extends with a new discovery. This is what happens with the Physical Anthropology. It does not recognise or bothers about its relation with the present or the past. As noted above the study of history in relation with the past in Europeans began with the introduction of Indian literature in eighteenth century. In the Hindu philosophy of history past is remembered only in context of the present; otherwise history has no relevance. History is defined as those past happenings which help people achieve four aims of human life. Here the Great Deluge has a special reference from where begins the human history. It goes to 120 million years before, but actually history begins with the beginning of life on earth about 1955.8 million years ago. But in Europe there is no clear concept of time, neither there is any vision about the infinity of time.

Perception based on Guesses and Postulations :

The enthusiastic and imaginative Europeans,

devoid of any history background, depended for history on their experience and perception. Their history revolves around **the stomach, the hand and the arms**. The Book of the Old Testaments and the New Testament provided them not only the model but chronological framework also. It does not speak of Europe but the origin of the universe and humanity.

1. The Stomach : It is believed that man started as hunter-gatherer, nay ! he was forager, i.e. only the seeker of food, not hunter. They say²¹ 'Foraging was the ancestral subsistence mode of homo. As *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Hunter-Gathers* says: "Hunting and gathering was humanity's first and most successful adaptation, occupying at least 90 percent of human history. Until 12,000 years ago, all humans lived this way. Following the invention of agriculture, hunter-gatherers have been displaced by farming or pastoralist groups in most parts of the world. Only a few contemporary societies are classified as hunter-gatherers, and many supplement sometimes extensively, their foraging and/or keeping animals."

The speculation does not stop here. There is much more. "One hypothesis is that the earliest humans lived primarily on scavenging (eating the dead bodies killed by other animals), not actual hunting. Early humans in the Lower Paleolithic lived in mixed habitats, which allowed them to collect seafood, eggs, nuts, and fruits besides scavenging. Rather than killing large animals for meat, according to this view, they used carcasses (dead bodies) of such animals that had either been killed by predators or that had died of natural causes.

"According to the endurance running hypothesis, long-distance hunting, a method still practiced by some hunter-gathers groups in modern times, was likely the driving evolutionary force leading to the evolution of certain human characteristics. (This hypothesis does not necessarily contradict the scavenging hypothesis: both subsistence strategies could have been in use -- sequentially, alternating or even simultaneously.)

"Hunting and gathering was presumably the subsistence strategy employed by human societies beginning some 1.8 million years ago, by *homo erectus* and from its appearance

some 0.2 million years ago by *Homo sapiens*. It remained the only mode of subsistence until the end of the Mesolithic period some 10,000 years ago, and after this was replaced only gradually with the spread of the Neolithic Revolution.

"Starting at the transition between the Middle to Upper Paleolithic period, some 80,000 to 70,000 years ago, some hunter-gatherers bands began to specialize, concentrating on hunting a smaller selection (of larger than had previously been hunted) game and gathering a smaller selection of food. This specialization of work also involved creating specialized tools, like fishing nets and hooks and bone harpoons. The transition into the subsequent Neolithic period is chiefly defined by the unprecedented development of nascent agricultural practices. Agriculture originated and spread in the several different areas including the Middle East Asia, Mesopotamia and Andes beginning as early as 12,000 years go.

"Forest gardening was also being used as a food production system in various parts of the world over this period. Forest gardens originated in prehistoric times along jungle-clad river banks and in the foothills of monsoon regions. In gradual process of families improving their immediate environment, useful tree and vine species were identified, protected and improved into the gardens.

"Many groups continued their hunter-gatherer ways of life, although their numbers have continually declined, partly as a result of pressure from growing agricultural and pastoral communities. Many of them reside in the developing world, either in arid regions or tropical forests. Areas that were formerly available to hunter-gatherers were --and continue to be-- encroached upon by the settlements of agriculturists. In the resulting competition for the land use, hunter-gatherer societies either adopted these practices or moved to other areas. In addition, Jared Diamond has blamed a decline in availability of wild foods, particularly animal resources. In North and South America, for example,

most large mammal species had gone extinct by the end of the Pleistocene – according to Diamond, because of overexploitation by humans, although the overkill hypothesis he advocates is strongly contested.

“As the number and size of agricultural societies increased, they expanded into lands traditionally used by hunter-gatherers. This process of agriculture-driven expansion led to the development of the first forms of government in agricultural centres, such as the Fertile Crescent, Ancient India, Ancient China, Olmec (sic)?, Sub-Saharan Africa and North Chico.

“As a result of the new near-universal human reliance upon agriculture, the few contemporary hunter-gatherer cultures usually live in areas unsuitable for agricultural use.”

Critique : This excellent exposition of history revolving around stomach is a brilliant figment of imagination indeed. All these means of subsistence can be seen in practice in many societies of all the continents, except the first two. Of these two foraging can be observed in many societies among poverty stricken people. But it is disgusting to conceive of man as scavenger, subsiding on the dead and rotten bodies hunted by other animals. Certainly such a proposal needs boldness and courage because, perhaps it is nowhere in practice except extreme emergent situations. Man, equipped with intelligence is capable of using tools and technical skill, can arrange well organised hunting programmes. As such he cannot be expected to live on the hunts of other animals; only jackal and hyena and some other animals can do so. They, perhaps, do not possess a better sensory equipment to distinguish between the fowl smell of rotten flesh and fragrance; rather that attracts them.

To us this is no history at all. To arrange these means of subsistence (i.e. **stomach**) in grades and present as history shows the cultural bankruptcy and, enthusiasm for proposing something new and sensational. In this hypothesis there is no role of man the intelligent equipped with the faculty of speech; the man who discovered fire and used in many ways to comfort him and cooking food. This presupposes man as savage and he remained so for a long time till some group changed the situation and entered the next stage. The

chronological scheme of the proposal that 'hunting and gathering was humanity's first and most successful adaptation, occupying at least 90 percent of human history' and that 'until 12,000 years ago, all humans lived this way' persists throughout in European perception of history. But no ancient civilization of the world ever supports it. The Vedic people realised the importance of *Agni* (Fire) and *Vāk* (speech) in human life very early as it is manifest in large number of hymns of the *R̥gveda*.

Moreover, there is little for cattle-breeding in this scheme which was the most important source of subsistence. In many societies it is combined with the agriculture. The Vedic society was one such since the very beginning.

2. The Hand: Here by hand we intend technical skill. It was believed in the beginning that only man is capable of using tools and a search into it can reveal its past. Now the study of lithic implements used by ancient man has become a well developed science. A long period of time is allotted to this which forms the subject matter of prehistory to be discussed hereafter. However, in the late last century it was discovered that not only men but some other animals and birds etc. also use tools. For example chimpanzees use objects— stems, twigs, branches leaves, and rocks— in nine different ways to accomplish tasks associated with feeding, drinking, cleaning themselves, investigating out-of-reach objects, and as weapons— flanging branches and throwing rocks as missiles. In the past few decades, tool making has also been observed in other animals such as dolphins, elephants, otters, octopuses, and several kinds of birds. This falsifies the idea of the historians that 'humans, and only humans, used and made tools. Our species was defined as 'Man the Tool Maker'.

The majority of writers maintain that by the beginning of Pleistocene epoch one million years ago, humans took an important step forward --they started making their own tools. K. P. Oakley, in his book *Man the Tool-maker* writes “Miocene and early Pliocene ancestors may have been tool users without having reached the stage of systematic tool-making.” He holds that 'humans did not make tools before they reached the stage of *Homo sapiens*, before they were capable of abstract thought.' He continues “It is logical that the stone objects attributed to human manufacture before the appearance of *Homo sapiens* cannot have been

made by humans. It is logical because in order to make a tool one needs a tool-making machine or instrument. In order to have a tool-making instrument one needs a developed brain, a brain capable of abstract thoughts. ... Only with the appearance of Homo sapiens can we add to perceptual thinking, which other animals are also capable of, that peculiarity of humans, abstract thinking. Tool-making or weapon-making presupposes holding tools and carrying weapons. ... Before Homo sapiens, humans were not, surely, tool-makers, but tool-gatherers. Humans were using stones, bones, and sticks as tools or weapons, all of which were available for immediate use."

Such relationship of tool-making with human brain development presupposes man with undeveloped or underdeveloped brain and that there was some sort of evolution in human brain. It is not clear that pre-Homo sapiens belonged to the same species as Homo sapiens or were separate ones. Also, is there any scientific proof about the evolution of brain among the same species. There are millions of specimens of species collected in the palaeontological museums world over but, so far there is not a single specimen where such an evolution has been traced. This confirms the view that nature creates one species and it extinguishes as such after a certain period. Then at the next stage a higher species appears and after its extinction a still higher one emerges and the cycle goes on. One species of chimpanzee or of apes or any other primate never evolves in its brain or mental capabilities during its period of existence. Thus, it is nothing but figment of imagination not supported by scientific investigation, that the sapient being is supposed to have evolved in brain. Almost every now and then news flashes in the media that a 'missing link' has been discovered by the scientists, but after that there spreads a long lull. No scientist has ever come with a specific report that he has found some evolution in the human brain of Homo sapiens as compared to pre-Homo.

However, the whole exercise of Man the tool-maker rests on the use of lithic implements which gradually reduced in mass and refined. This cannot be associated with human species but be accepted as development in skill. The last century has seen tremendous development in weaponry and now man is capable of making nuclear weapons but this cannot be attributed to evolution in the human

brain.

3. The Arms : Arms play vital role in shaping Europe's perception of history. They achieved political control over the world by force of arms. This reflects in the Invasionist model of European history. It is said that God created man in his own image but the Europeans created a history reflecting their expansionist image during last two centuries. The European influence over other continents is mostly due to the use of brute force and deceit. In many cases they achieved success through power of arms and genocide. They are guilty of extinction of many a civilizations and forcing them to take shelter in forest in the remote regions, as in the case of America, Africa and Australia. This is exactly what is reflected in the so-called Aryan invasion theory in which it was propounded that the invading Aryans forced the local original inhabitants to take shelter in the forests; they were driven even up to the South India. This occupied European psyche in viewing history of the world. For them all movements of tribes in antiquity are story of invasions and destructions. Even the expansion of languages are not free from the concept of invasions and conquests. It is speculated that a conquering people usually imposed their language upon the defeated population. This is against the natural law of speech because a total population cannot be forced to accept the language of the conqueror. But this has got acceptance as a leading model for language expansion. The Western model of history is full of such instances; we need not to cite particular instances. Even in academic discussions this mindset is manifest. For example recall we Max Muller's threat cited above "A writer like Dr. Spiegel should know that he can expect no mercy, but invite the heaviest artillery against the floating battery which has launched in the troubled waters of Biblical criticism."

To this paradigm can be added the state-nation concept evolved during the last two centuries. This reflects in history also. We know for certain that in old days boundaries of kingdoms fluctuated on accounts of conquests and defeats of kings. But the European historians are in the habit of defining boundaries of kingdoms and cultures in strict geographical terms. For example, for the British historians northern boundaries of India was confined to that of the Raj, Afghanistan was excluded. History of India is presented in such a way

as if Indians had no relations, political or social, beyond the Hindu Kush. It was one way traffic. Invaders could come from the north but any Indian influence over that region was carefully warded off. But, on the other hand, they do not miss any chance to remind that this region as well as India itself was subject to Iranian influence in all respects, whatsoever.

Concept of History and Prehistory

As delineated above history consciousness in Europe begins with the acquaintance of the Sanskrit literature. The first and spontaneous response was favourable as it was viewed as an alternative to the prevailing Biblical concept of history and chronology. Historians named it “Indomania”. This was visualised as a threat to the European religion and culture. Concerted efforts were made to kill this “Indomania” and establish a psyche of hatred against everything that is Indian. This was called “Indophobia”. It was realised that the Indomania was not unfounded because India's culture and civilization was far superior with respect to history, culture, literature and many other areas. This was considered a real threat. To counter the threat strategy of denouncement, ignoring and propounding antithesis of India's history was adopted. The proposal that history begins with literacy or the use of writing is one such hypothesis which lead to several other complications and today the situation has become precarious.

In fact, it was a black day in history of 'the world history' when European decided that 'history begins with the use of writing'. Some historians now believe that it is a “outmoded assumption that history follows a teleological path beginning with the origins of civilization in Ancient Mesopotamia”. When viewed in the light of the Indophobia created in the late nineteenth century this 'teleology' or design behind the assumption that history begins with the use of writing becomes more manifest. Here follows our analysis.

It will be discussed below in the section on distortion that history of India was manipulated to begin in the Maurya period after the invasion of Alexander; and the Puranic history prior to that period was rejected as mythology but a twilight period up to the time of the Buddha was accepted as special gesture. It was also observed that the written documents in India begin from the Maurya period. Scholars like G. Buhler supposed writing in India

begin a few centuries before that, a safe range indeed ! But on the other hand the antiquity of writing in Egypt and Middle East is much more early, i.e. fourth and third millennium BCE. Thus sprung the idea of the beginning history from the use of writing. This provided opportunity to establish that the Indian civilization was much more posterior to those of Mesopotamia and Egypt. This was used to falsify the claim of the Hindus that their civilization is oldest in the world. There ensued a hot debated in the beginning of the twentieth century in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society about the antiquity the Hindu civilization. Then B. G. Tilak was advised to wait till some more evidence comes out.

Fortunately, for the Hindus, by the beginning of the third decade of the twentieth century the Indus-Sarasvati civilization was unearthed which was a literate society. This discover brought back the antiquity of India's civilization at par with those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. But, unfortunately its first exponents Sir John Marshal and Sir Mortimer Wheeler were not in favour of identifying it with the Hindu civilization. Now, after the lapse of more than nine decades the issue remains undecided though scholars like Prof. B.B. Lal²² and many others have conclusively demonstrated and established on the basis of archæological remains that the Hindu culture is a continuation of the Harappa civilization. But the other section of archæologists like R.S. Bisht²³ still consider it 'the most vexed problem ... who built the Harappan civilization'. Like many other sceptics he deferred the subject by saying that 'The controversy will remain alive until and unless the Harappan script is deciphered.' A sizeable group of archæologists in India still adhere to the norms established by the British archæologist in the last century. Thus after a lapse of 93 years (in 2014) the uncertainty is kept alive about the propagators of this civilization. The argument of decipherment of the Harappan script is nothing more than a hoax to postpone the identity because so far all attempts to decipher the script have failed. But, the script is only one aspect, there are many more evidences and artefacts that connect the Harappans with the Vedic civilization and there remains no reason to wait for its decipherment. Rather the view of uncertainty presents difficulty in the way of decipherment because, on the basis of other evidences, this can be attempted in accordance with the Sanskrit grammar

and phonetics. However, idea of the beginning of history from the use of writing to denounce Hindu history proved a flop. But this prompted to the proposal of prehistory which gave rise to many other problems entangling in endless immature proposals as detailed below.

The proposal that history begins with the introduction of writing was amateurish and it lead to another immature proposal of 'prehistory'. The proposal of prehistory was imbalanced from not only the viewpoint of chronology but also from the view of the history of man who was several steps ahead from the apes and other primates. While the period of history is limited only to five thousand years the prehistory goes to enormous antiquity. A modern definition of history claims: The term 'prehistory' can refer to the vast span of time since the beginning of the universe, but more often it refers to the period since life appeared on Earth, or even more specifically to the time since human-like beings appeared." This is a shameless smearing over a teleological mistake initially committed with wrong motif in mind. Those, who are not ready to accept the beginning of history more than 5000 years are pleading 'prehistory'. from the Big Bang 13.5 billion years ago. This is nothing more than a great joke with the people of world or the result of confused thinking. Should we assume that this is a return to the Puranic concept of history where it begins with the creation of universe?

Now, Deep Historians, express their disagreement with this definition of history and say "Historians increasingly do not restrict themselves to evidences from written records and are coming to rely more upon evidence from the natural and social sciences, thereby blurring the distinction between the terms "history" and "prehistory". This view has recently been articulated by advocates of deep history.

There are many glaring anomalies in the concept of history and prehistory. For example, "In Egypt it is generally accepted that prehistory ended around 3000 BC. whereas in New Guinea the end of the prehistoric era is set much more recently, at around 1900 AD. In Europe the relatively well-documented classical cultures Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome had neighbouring cultures, including the Celts and to a lesser extent the Etruscans with little or no writing, and historians must decide how much weight to give to the often highly prejudiced

accounts of the "prehistoric" cultures in Greek and Roman literature."

Deep history is a term for the distant past of the human species. "Proponents of deep history argue for a definition of history that rests not upon the invention of writing, but upon the evolution of anatomically modern humans. The concept of prehistory is thus recast as an arbitrary boundary that limits the *longue duree* perspective of historians, and which rests upon outmoded assumptions that history follows a teleological path beginning with the origins of civilization in Ancient Mesopotamia."

Harvard history professor Daniel Hutton is perhaps the most prominent advocate of deep history. it is not enough to show that the immature decision that history begins with the introduction of writing was taken in haste and with the purpose in mind to denounce the claim of Hindus about high antiquity of their culture and civilization ?

Another recent development in the field is 'deep time'. It is the concept of geological time. Modern science has now established, after a long and complex history of developments, the age of the Earth at around 4.54 billion years.

Thus is the worry of common man 'if humans came into existence about some 200 thousand years ago and history begins only 5000 years from now what about the earlier 195 thousand years? It is something like a mal-growth over the body of history which became several hundred times larger than the main body.

The other thing that catches attention is that in the European scheme of world history India has no place, while the history of Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Arabs and China find place in it. For them king's list and some annals are pieces of history and poetic description of Persian War are believed to be analytical history. The enormous epic and Puranic literature is not known to any one in Europe. If they have any information about the Hindu, it is derogatory. Not only this, the Sanskrit literature, the basic source of many linguistic branches of inquiry in the West, is now out of the scope of academic discussions. All this is the result of propaganda under the project Indophobia.

Trial and Error:

As natural with all short-sighted hypotheses there are many interstices in this proposal of history and

prehistory that become manifest every off and on. To mend the shortcomings many new terms are inserted here and there that amounts to nothing but (ab)use of language.

The first example is the term **prehistory** which appears to be a 'second thought' because the term "**history**" was devised to ward off some hypothetical exigency such as antiquity of the Hindu history. The philosophical question was bypassed that 'history' is an event and, to propose a pre-event is conceptually wrong.

However, the term prehistory was devised to cover the entire period before man used writing, and thus it was believed, he became civilized. All the civilizations are dated within 5000 years. This presupposes that man was uncivilized or savage before the introduction of writing. Soon it was realised that there was some gap; there is an intervening period between the 'history' and 'prehistory'. This intervening period was termed '**proto-history**'. As goes the dictionary meaning 'proto' also conveys the same sense as 'pre'. Let it be as it is. Not satisfied with the classifications of periods like **Lower-, Middle- and Upper-Palaeolithic** a new period was supplemented as **epi-Palaeolithic**. 'Epi', taken from the Greek meaning on, at, besides, after, akin to etc. is prefixed to Palaeolithic to denote 'after'. The Palaeolithic period is followed by the Mesolithic and then by **Neolithic** period but, **epi-Palaeolithic** denotes the intervening period between the Mesolithic and Palaeolithic.

Emergence of the Prehistory Concept:

Before we conclude this discussion on history and prehistory it will be of interest to know how the idea of prehistory occurred. The European colonizers in North America were surprised by the mysterious presence of the non-whites there. Naturally they first turned to the biblical precepts and postulated them to be the 'lost tribes of Israel'. But soon some of them reasoned that 'man has passed through some evolutionary changes in the past'. Then it was argued that the American Indians represent the earliest such stages of culture which migrated into the new world and remained stagnant (?) as a result of isolation. William Robertson in 1777, on this analogy fixed three stages in the evolution of human civilization as *Savagery*, *Barbarism* and *Civilization*. Obviously, the civilization stage of Europe served as the final stage of human development. They coined

the word 'primitive culture' and it was postulated that culture is 'a complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws and customs in any population irrespective of whether it is from the so called civilized West or from the pagan East or south'; and that this definition can be applied to any culture of the ancient or modern world. Then developed a 'prehistoric archæology' where the assumption has been that the tribals of today represent a culture which must be similar to some prehistoric culture. Thus it was naturally assumed that areas of tribal concentration must be devoid of prehistoric archæology. But soon this hypothesis was abandoned because many such sites were discovered with prehistoric remains. The wild guesswork continues.

Technology dominates Prehistory:

The Europeans achieved success through technological advancement and therefore naturally they glanced technological progress in the prehistoric man as well. For them there were three great ages of human history, **Stone Age**, **Copper** or **Bronze Age** and **Iron Age**. It was explained that these are cultural terms and are essentially attempts to divide cultural traits with a definable technological stage. Among these the second and the third ages are confined to five to ten thousand years. In between these was the **Chalcolithic** period where copper and stone both combined. The Stone Age chronologically occupies more than 99% of the existence of man on earth. The study of Stone Age is determined by classification of millions of stone tools discovered from all the continents. Here it may be reminded that they forgot the monogenesis of man from the Bible and evade the question as to how this 'primitive man' crossed the oceans and spread over all the continents with the so-called primitive technology.

The **Stone Age** is divided into three sub-ages; i.e. **Palaeolithic**, **Mesolithic** and **Neolithic**. Of these the Palaeolithic covers the longest time period of all the Stone Ages; it is further divided into **Lower, Middle** and **Upper Palaeolithic** periods. There was a debate as if these were cultural or chronological divisions. Some laid emphasis on one succeeding the other and hence there was some chronological scheme of cultural sequence. But it could not be uniformly used as the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic periods cannot be given any common and acceptable chronological definition at the

worldwide level. Therefore, some gave economic basis for these cultural developments. It was suggested (guessed?) that the early part of Palaeolithic culture be called '**food gathering period**' and the later part of Palaeolithic, when organized hunting and selective collecting was done, be called '**food collecting period**'. Finally, the period making the beginning of agriculture was termed as '**food producing period**'.

Then they return to the chrono-cultural concept of ages, i.e. the earliest of human cultures occur within Pleistocene period beginning from two million years ago; the only criteria being the use of stone tools. But it was observed that there exists a culture of blade tools which are not as big as the **Upper Palaeolithic** and also not as small as the **Mesolithic** and, therefore, this stage is called **Epi-Palaeolithic**. The **Neolithic** culture, last phase of **Stone Age**, is followed by **Chalcolithic** culture (perhaps the name **Bronze Age** has been dropped), i.e. a combined culture using copper along with stone. But many of the Chalcolithic cultures are not found using the two at the same time. The **Iron Age** culture is the latest stage bracketed under historical period. Again the Chalcolithic is named the **Proto-historical** period and the **Iron Age** as the **Historical period**. This bewildering distribution of periods is followed by many obscure or unfamiliar words in circumlocutory manner which confuses an interested reader, who is not a specialist. In prehistory there are large number of terms originating from locations in Europe that are used in the world context and are supposed to address only the experts in the field. A general reader interested in prehistory feels uncomfortable with the language of the pre-historian.

Fields of researches in prehistoric studies are so divergent that it is difficult to determine what they want to know by investigations in prehistory. Some study the primary occupation floors of early man in order to discern the stone fabricating activities, their techniques and finished types. There are others whose concern is the environment and Pleistocene geology. Still some others may be found working mainly to understand food production and animal domestication. Yet some others may be working to understand early settlement pattern developing through urban civilizations, statehood formations, & c. But most common pattern is to understand 'man the toolmaker'. Moreover, the

discipline of prehistory is confined to the specialists and experts and the people in general in the society have little to learn from this science about their ancestors.

The total picture that emerges is that there emerges no sharp picture of human history in all its aspects. The sapient man is altogether absent from this landscape of history and there is no lesson or goal for the common man in the European perception of history except the affliction of man by man and cataloguing the events. The prehistory also fails to give a message to the people. This is a blind search of nothing just like hunting around the bush.

No Place for Sapient Man :

In this long journey of man from the Lower Palaeolithic period to the stage of civilization about five thousand years ago the sapient man is absent. The Man, endowed with the faculty of speech and with which necessarily associated is the process of thinking, has little role to perform in this scheme of European concept of history. Moreover, he is presented as evolved from primates to savagery. He is supposed to attain human traits only when he exhibits his ability to create stone tools and engaged in refining them. He also is depicted as using his talent to evolve means of filling the stomach from hunting-gathering to agriculture. During two million years (?) of his existence he remains illiterate and uncivilized for 195,000 years.

It is never realised that there is sea of difference between man and the beast. Thomas Henry Huxley, a close friend of Charles Darwin and one of his ardent supporters, who was quite aware of the importance of speech and language that makes us humans different from all other members of the animal kingdom underlines this difference. Writing in a small book of essays entitled *Man's Place in Nature*, first published in 1863 he observed thus:

"No one is more strongly convinced than I am of the vastness of the gulf between... man and brutes ... for he alone possesses the marvelous endowment of intelligible and rational speech ... stands raised upon it as on a mountain top, far above the level of his humble fellows, and transfigured from his grosser nature by reflecting, here and there, a ray from the infinite source of truth."²⁴

This reflection of Huxley's high estimation of man is totally absent in the perception of history among European historians and archæologists. He

recognised the 'marvelous endowment of intelligible and rational speech' in man. But this stands unrecognized by the Western archæologist.

This quality alone made man master of the planet earth. Physically he is quite weak and medium in size as compared with many other species. It is his brain combined with language that has made all the difference. Almost all the ancient civilizations have recognized this quality in man that is responsible for all knowledge, terrestrial and transcendental, that has accumulated during past several millennia. This knowledge has been transmitted to the coming generations through the ages. With this accelerating accumulation of knowledge from generation to generation man achieved the present status of civilization. History is the story of accumulation, preservation and transmission of patrimony that makes man different from the animals. But this is ignored in the European model of history and prehistory. The materialistic mindset of the Europeans leads the progeny in a wrong direction. They failed to realize that the study of history is not an end in itself; it should be for the benefit of the society at large. Much energy is being devoted to the study of cranial capacity of the fossils or the technical achievements of 'man the toolmaker'. There is no scope for the study of 'the Man, the social animal' and 'the Man who could think and talk' by the dint of which he has reached the space age. Undoubtedly man must have formed a complex society with human emotions and beliefs quite early in history besides the arrangement for food, tools, and shelter. This aspects stands neglected in European perception of history.

It need not stress that the faculty of thinking, i.e. intelligence is coupled with the special organs in his throat that enables man to use language with the help of most flexible tongue in the mouth. Language cannot be inherited by birth; though one inherits the vocalic organs and a complex brain to co-ordinate thinking and speech. The man is required to culture it from one generation to the next, from the mouth of elders, may be mother, father, teacher or other members in the society. If left to himself the newly born baby will die or if survives he/she would be no better than a brute. If the organs of speech remain unutilized during first few formative months of life the faculty of speech will be lost forever with absolutely no chance to revive in spite of the organs

being present in the body. The prehistorians are silent on this aspect of human quality and are uncertain about the stage when man acquired language. There is no escape from the fact that culture and civilization are closely connected with language. Thus man could not have remained savage and brute after acquiring the language skill. This lacunae jeopardizes the whole exercise of development as speculated by the prehistorians.

IV

The Distortion

Distortion of India's history is part of the European perception of world history to suit the colonial interest of the British and whole Europe accepted. It is interesting to note how this distortion was done by fraudulent means by Judge of the Calcutta High Court of the British East India Trading Company who had become the masters of Bengal. Here we present deeds of two most prominent European savants, William Jones And F. Max Muller, instrumental in this distortion.

I. Sir William Jones : William Jones, an Englishman, served as a judge in the High Court of Bengal from 1783 till his death in 1794 at the age of 52. At an early age he learnt Greek, Latin, Persian, Arabic and basics of Chinese writing. By the end of his life 'he knew thirteen languages thoroughly and another twenty-eight reasonably well, making him a hyper-polyglot.'

Jones proved to be the torchbearer for the disconcerted Europeans who were critical of the current Indomania on the Continent. Bryant writes (15) "Such scholars were greatly relieved by the 'fortunate arrival of ... the various dissertations, on the subject, of Sir William Jones.' Jones was just as concerned about the fact that 'some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts delivered by Moses.' In his estimation, too, 'either the first eleven chapters of Genesis ... are true, or the whole fabric of our national religion is false, a conclusion which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn.'"

Thus Jones was aware of the crisis and he reached India with a definite project in mind. This is reflected in his nine discourses that he delivered annually as president in Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by him. In Trautmann's (42) estimation too "Although the biblical frame is not brought to the

foreground until the summing up in the ninth discourse, it is present at the very outset in the aspiration to determine whether the origin of the Asian nations is 'that which we generally ascribe to them', which is to say, whether it accords with the Mosaic account in the opening books of Genesis in the Bible." He is emphatic about the fact that "Jones brought this project with him to India, and he situated his work in series with other rational defenses of Moses, specifically those of Newton and of Bryant." There are many instances of his mischievous acts in India not only to distort it history but also inserting passages into the Puranas that can be seen in my analysis of his intentions,¹⁵ but here we are mainly concerned with equation of the Maury history with that of Alexander of Macedonia which now has become the backbone of chronology of India's history.

Celebrated philologist Sir William Jones, when he fixes the date of Chandragupta Maurya, resorts to a series of lies and fraudulent techniques to establish his thesis. It will bring more reliability to quote from his ninth discourse on February 28, 1793 published in the fourth volume of *Asiatic Researches*.

"I cannot help mentioning a discovery which accident threw in my way; (I) thought my proofs must be reserved for an essay which I have destined for the fourth volume for your Transactions. To fix the situation of that *Polibothra* (for there may have been several of the name) which was visited and described by Megasthenese, had always appeared a very difficult problem ... but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a classical Sanscrit book, near 2000 years old, that *Hiranyabahu, or golden armed*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Erannoboas*, or *the river with a lovely murmur* was in fact another name for the Son itself, though Megasthenese, from ignorance or inattention, has name them separately. This discovery led to another of greater moment; for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventure, became, like Sandracottus, the sovereign of *Upper Hindustan*, actually fixed the seat of his empire at *Pataliputra*, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes; and was no other than the very Sandracottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus

Niketar; so that we have solved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and the three hundredth years before Christ." Jones goes on saying "... but we know from an arrangement of the seasons in *the astronomical work of Parasara, that the war of the Pandavas could not have happened earlier than the close of the twelfth century before Christ*; and Seleucus must, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war." (Emphasis in the original but underlines are by us to notice later).

This estimation of William Jones formed the basis of the chronology of the Indian history and paved the way for introduction of Alexander as a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. But these assumptions stand on falsehood and fraudulence as analysed hereunder.

1. The highly acclaimed proof the 'classical Sanscrit book, near 2000 years old' is never named by this learned lecturer in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, neither any subsequent European writer ever troubled to trace this 'book'. We have no option than to derive, as discussed below, that this was a false and fraudulent claim on the part of Jones.
2. The so-called 'Astronomical work of Parasara' claiming that 'the war of the Pandavas could not have happened earlier than the close of the twelfth century before Christ' also is not known to the scholarly world and, this also be rejected as a fraud by the Chief Justice of a High Court. It is most unlikely, rather impossible, that any Hindu work on astronomy can speak of the Bharata War in twelfth century BCE. Therefore, Jones's conclusion that 'Seleucus must, therefore, have reigned about nine century after that war' cannot be upheld. Thus the entire chronology of Maury period trembles down and becomes redundant.
3. The anomaly does not end here. The phonetic resemblance between the Greek Sandracottus and Chandragupta Maurya also does not go beyond one generation. The Greek sources say that the son of Sandracottus was Amitrachodes. But the Puranas say the son of Chandragupta Maurya was Bindusāra. To reconcile this it was invented that 'the Greeks use instead of the name a title, Amitrochates = Sanskrit

Amitraghāta, 'slayer of the foe', ..."¹⁶ This fabrication does not stand because nowhere in Indian literature this epithet is used for the son of Chandragupta Maurya.

4. The Classical writers, belonging to the second century CE can be expected to know Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra and grandson of Chandragupta Maurya. He was the most illustrious king of the dynasty who ruled in the third century before CE. His empire was extended to the northern Afghanistan as he claims the Yavanas and Kambojas his subjects. Most importantly, he also mentions names the four Greek kings of his time identified as 1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 BC); 2) Megas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-258 BC); 3) Ptolemy II Philadelphose of Egypt (285-247 BC); 4) Antigonos Gonatas of Makedonia (277-239 BC); 5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255 BC) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 BC).¹⁷ He sent missionaries to the kingdoms of these Greek kings. Thus the silence of the Classical writers about Aśoka is mysterious. Their ignorance about the two successors of Chandragupta Maurya jeopardize Jones's identification as Sandracottus, a contemporary of Alexander. It is noteworthy that these historians name many lesser known kings and tribes during his campaign.
5. It is also strange that Megasthenese, claimed to have spent many years in the Maury court at Pataliputra and have written about its administration and many other things about India, is silent about the most illustrious personality of the empire, Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya alias Kauṭilya. The latter was not only the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya but also builder of the empire. His work Arthaśāstra on Maury polity and administration is the most celebrated work on the subject. The authority of Megasthenese about India has been challenged by Strabo and Arrian who hold him great 'liar'. But the Western historians on India established him as a great champion.

However, the five points discussed above turn the table upside down and expose the falsity of identification of Chandragupta Maurya with Sandracottus of Classical writers. As this is the basic evidence for placing Mauryas as contemporary of

Alexander in the fourth-third century BC the whole structure of chronology of India's history, so ceremoniously created by the British historians, collapses. Not only this it also nullifies thousands of pages written on the invasion of Alexander and the Great (?) conqueror of India because there is absolutely no reference about him in Indian literature. So also the history of the Indo-Greeks needs revision. The tone of W.W. Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* has now become redundant in the light of new researches that show that the Bactrian Greeks were culturally more nearer to the Hindu religion and civilization than their Greek kinsfolk in Egypt and West Asia.

However, Sir William Jones prepared the foundation on which the edifice of Indophobia was created by "killing" the natural and spontaneous Indomania. This judge of the Bengal High Court used his genius to distort India's history most injudiciously.

II. F. Max Muller : Friedrich Max Muller is the most celebrated German scholar who, though never visited India, was much more known to Indians. He was a fellow-student of Roth. Besides his teacher's stamp on him, Max Muller's interview with Lord Macaulay on 28th December, 1855 also played a great part in his anti-India views. He had to sit silent for an hour while the historian poured out his diametrically opposite views and then dismissed his visitor. He writes "I went back to Oxford, a sadder man and a wiser man."

This 'wiser man' Max Muller was a bigot Christian and played important role in distorting the Hindu history as he edited the series "*Sacred Books of the East*" and translated works like the R̥gveda with unsacred intentions. He discloses his real intention about this translation in a letter to his wife in 1866 and says "This edition of mine and the translation of the Veda will hereafter tell to a great extent the fate of India, ... it is the root of their religion to show them what the root is, I feel sure, is the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last three thousand years."

This pious (?) desire of Max Muller was based on the Europe's belief that the Hindu religion is based on the R̥gveda in the same way as Christianity is based on the Bible. And, if the shortcomings of this book is highlighted by a fabricated translations the whole structure of Hinduism will collapse. But he, and his

coreligionists, never thought that even most of the learned Brahmins, not to say of the general Hindu public, though having firm belief in the Vedas, had never read or even seen the Vedas. It was confined to a small group of Brahmins, the *Vedapāthis*, to remember and recite in different ways to preserve it carefully. They never bothered for its meaning. Other Brahmins also used to recite Veda mantras on various occasions of social and religious events, but they also did not know the meaning of these mantras. I have confirmed this with many pundits on several occasions. Thanks to the European pundits who initiated translation and historical analysis of the Vedas that interested many Hindu scholars too. Thanks again to them for the wrong notion that they could tremble down and wipe out the Hindu religion from the land of the Hindus by perverse translation, but creating interest among Hindu scholars to investigate into their ancient civilization through analytical study of the Vedas and Vedic literature.

However, Max Muller is also noted for fixing the date of the Vedas to 1200 BCE. This was done on ad hoc basis because he counted from the *Sūtra* literature by putting in the sixth-fifth centuries and assigning 200 years each the *Āryanyka*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the Vedas reached 1200 BCE. But after being vehemently criticised by his contemporary scholars like Goldstucker, Wilson and Whitney, etc. he explained his position in his preface to the *R̥gveda* by saying: "I have repeatedly dwelt on the merely hypothetical character of the dates, which I have ventured to assign to the first periods of Vedic literature. All I have claimed for them has been that they are minimum dates, and that the literary productions of each period which either still exists or which formerly existed could hardly be accounted for within shorter limits than those suggested."

Again in 1890, the 'wiser man', Max Muller finally confessed that "If now we ask how we can fix the dates of these periods, it is quite clear that we cannot hope to fix a terminum a qua. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 BC, no power on earth will ever determine."¹⁸

Strange it is that the wily European (say all Western) historians cling to Max Muller's earlier date of 1200 BCE for the *R̥gveda* and the Hindu literature by sidetracking his final confession that came about one hundred and 25 years ago. This can

be nothing but Western fanaticism.

Max Muller was bitterly antagonistic on others who disagree with him and criticize. When the German scholar Dr. Spiegel opined that the biblical theory of the creation of the world is borrowed from the ancient religion of the Persians or Iranians the furious Max Muller fanatically wrote "A writer like Dr. Spiegel should know that he can expect no mercy, but invite the heaviest artillery against the floating battery which has launched in the troubled waters of Biblical criticism."

Max Muller was no less bitter to those who appreciated Hindu civilization and culture. A French scholar Louis Jacolliot, Chief Justice in Chandranagar, wrote a book entitled "*La Bible dans l'Inde*" in 1869 which was translated in English next year. In this work Jacolliot credits India for all the main currents of thought in the world emanating from India. He calls India 'the Cradle of Humanity'. He writes "Land of ancient India! Cradle of Humanity, hail! Hail revered motherland whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion. Hail, Fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry and of sciences, may we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future." To this Max Muller remarked in his review that 'the author seems to have been taken in by the Brahmins of India.'

Max Muller was one of the most prominent personality in Europe who played important role in distortion of India's history.

To Summarize the Discussion :

To sum up the whole discussion following points emerge:

1. Broadly speaking up to the age of Renaissance (to some extent even after that) Europe was the land of incoherent barbaric tribes. The southern part was under the tyrant rule of Romans who were more interested in their African and West Asian parts of empire. Then Europeans came under the dominance of the Church and were exploited spiritually and economically. The Church was intolerant to any knowledge that did not suit their religious belief. However, this served as a sort of binding tie for all of them.
2. Then came the age of Enlightenment that filled Europeans with new vigour and thirst for knowledge. The desire for wealth, power and

conversion made Europe dominant world power by the middle of nineteenth century.

3. In this process, they accidentally discovered America while trying to reach India. Another party, however, reached India. This second discovery proved more fruitful to Europeans as they were introduced to the Sanskrit literature. This not only gave rise to many disciplines in linguistics but also made Europe conscious about its own past. It was concluded that the ancestors of Indians and of Europeans spoke same language and therefore must have emerged from the same stock. These common ancestors were named Proto-Indo-Europeans.
4. Initially Indian civilization attracted many thoughtful Europeans that is called by historians the Indomania. Many others in Europe took it as threat to the Christian religion and the European culture. Therefore concerted efforts were made to “kill the Indomania” and create an anti-atmosphere for everything that concerned India.
5. Furthermore, Europe's contact with India triggered history conciseness among them and they began searching respectable ancestry for them. In the process the direction of the well established current of history was reversed and the Europeans became the “real Aryans” while the Indo-Aryans (R̥gvedic Arya) occupy the last position in sequence.
6. The thesis that history begins with the use of writing was proposed to counter Indian claim of hoary antiquity because written records in India start from the Maurya period. Similarly the practice of providing date for every event also was prompted by the fact that Puranas never give date of any historical event.
7. The proposal of history beginning from the use of writing gave rise to the concept of prehistory and thus the entire European perception of history entangled in a vicious line of faulty proposals that now has reached in a blind lane. New proposals like deep history and deep time show the discontentment on the issue.
8. Thus Europe's perception of history and prehistory is 'little more than groping in the darkness by ignorant people who had no background in historical study. The same is true their concept of chronology, prompted by the

myth of Old Testament.

Now it has reached in a blind lane from where there seems no way out.

The only Way Out:

Now it is high time to revive the Hindu history of human civilization that is as old as 120 million years. The Puranas have preserved ample record of it. Thus a bigger line can be drawn to dwarf the immature Western model of history that is based on assumptions, speculations, and imaginations.

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1. The Dark Age, though now they emphatically denounce this nomenclature, in Europe is marked by the intellectual slavery of the oppressive Church for about a millennia. After that entire Europe found itself engulfed in long and violent struggles between the Catholics and the Protestants, and religious wars. The superstition prevailed everywhere. Here are some excerpts from Internet. “In 1486, there appeared a book named *The Malleus Maleficarum* (*The Witch Hammer*) by Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger. Both men were Dominican friars who claimed to show that what witches did at the request of Satan. Kramer and Sprenger tried fifty people for witchcraft (all but two were women). Men could be accused of witchcraft, but in general, no matter what country we look at, accusations against women outnumber those of men three to one. As many as 100,000 men and women were tried for witchcraft – perhaps 10,000 were hanged or burned at the stake. In southwest Germany for the period 1562-1670, there were 3300 executions. In Switzerland (1470-1700), there were 9000 cases tried with 5400 executions.” The Church always resented new thoughts and ideas and punished severely for the ideas, and statements that, according to Christian theology, was not in accordance with the biblical belief. Most of the scientists, who are celebrated and quoted in the world for their achievements in different fields of science today always lived in terror of the Church.
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5. *The Vedic Age*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, 1965 (4th edition) Bombay, p. 205.
6. Bryant, Edwin *Origins of Vedic Culture: the Indo-Aryan migration debate*, Oxford, 2001, p. 16.
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10. *Ibid*, p. 99.
11. Bryant, Edwin *The Quest for the Origins Vedic Culture: the Indo-Aryan Migration Debate*, Oxford, 2001, p. 14.

12. This essay of Pt. Bhagavad Datta was published in the compilation work called '*A Review of Beef in Ancient India*, pp. 17-38, published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur but printed at Delhi in 1979. Name of the compiler is not given. We have edited its Hindi version *Bhārata men gomāṃsa: Eka Samikshā* published by Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalana Yojana, New Delhi, 2001.
13. Trautmann, Op. cit. p. 99.
14. Bryan, Edwin, Op. cit. p. 14.
15. This can be seen in y article entitled 'Sir William Jones: A study of Intentions' in *Itihas Darpan*, volume XVI (I) 2011, pp. 99-119.
16. *The Cambridge History of India*, volume I, Second Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1962, p. 446.
17. Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, volume I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 38, fn. 1.
18. See Prof. B.B. Lal *The Sarasvati flows on: the continuity of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 2002, p. 68.
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भारतीय इतिहास के पुनर्लेखन की आवश्यकता

वेदाचार्य डॉ० डेविड फ्रॉले (पं० वामदेव शास्त्री)

अनुवाद एवं प्रस्तुति : डॉ० रत्नेश कुमार त्रिपाठी *

अमेरिका के साण्टा फे (न्यू मैक्सिको) नगर से 'अमेरिकन इंस्टीट्यूट फॉर वैदिक स्टडीज़' नामक संस्था के संस्थापक और अमेरिका में योग, आयुर्वेद, वेद, वेदांगज्योतिष तथा हिंदुत्व के प्रचार-प्रसार को समर्पित प्रसिद्ध अमेरिकी वैदिक विद्वान् श्री डेविड फ्रॉले ने 'वेदाचार्य वामदेव शास्त्री' का रूप ग्रहण करके हिंदू-दर्शन और हिंदू जीवन-पद्धति की श्रेष्ठता और सर्वस्वीकार्यता को रेखांकित किया है। उन्होंने आयुर्वेद और वैदिक संस्कृति पर विशेष कार्य किया है। डॉ० फ्रॉले की लगभग 30 पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हैं। उनकी नवीनतम पुस्तक है— 'यूनिवर्सल हिंदुइज्म टूवार्ड्स ए न्यू विज़न ऑफ़ सनातन धर्म'। प्रस्तुत लेख 'द नीड टू रीराइट इण्डियन हिस्ट्री' (भारतीय इतिहास के पुनर्लेखन की आवश्यकता) उनकी प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक 'हिंदुइज्म एण्ड द क्लैश ऑफ़ सिविलाइजेशन' पुस्तक से लिया गया है। इस पुस्तक को वॉइस ऑफ़ इण्डिया ने वर्ष 2001 में प्रकाशित किया है।



—संपादक

भारतीय इतिहास के विनाश का प्रयास तो मुग़ल-आक्रमणकारियों के समय से ही प्रारम्भ हो गया था। वह काल इतिहास और भारतीय संस्कृति के लिखित साक्ष्यों को पूर्णतः मिटाने का था जबकि तथाकथित ब्रिटिश काल (ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के प्रारम्भ से 1947 तक) भारतीय इतिहास के लिखित साक्ष्यों को मिटाने का नहीं बरन् उनको तोड़-मरोड़कर निम्नतर प्रचारित करके स्वयं को उच्च प्रमाणित करने का था, जिसके लिए उन्होंने राजनीतिक प्रभुता के साथ सामाजिक संस्थाओं का विघटन, आर्थिक लूट तथा शोषण, धार्मिक द्वेष तथा उत्पीड़न एवं सांस्कृतिक हास में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी। भारतीय इतिहास तथा संस्कृत-साहित्य के भ्रांतिपूर्ण तथा मनमाने निष्कर्ष निकाले। सभी ब्रिटिश इतिहासकार उच्चता की भावना तथा अहंकार के रोग से ग्रसित थे। उनके लिए भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति, धर्म, दर्शन, भाषा, साहित्य में दोष निकालना उनकी मज़बूरी थी। ब्रिटिश इतिहासकार रॉबर्ट ओर्म से लेकर मैलीशन तक, यहाँ तक कि सभी प्रशासकों— लॉर्ड क्लाइव से लेकर लॉर्ड डलहौजी तक तथा कैनिंग तक ने हिंदुओं के चरित्र को निकृष्टतम ढंग से वर्णित किया। विकृतिकरण की वही प्रक्रिया दुर्भाग्यवश स्वाधीनताप्राप्ति के बाद भी जारी रही। ब्रिटिश इतिहासकारों द्वारा बोई गई वह विषबेल आज भी भारत में फल-फूल रही है और इतिहास का विकृतिकरण जितना घातक स्वाधीनतापूर्व नहीं रहा, उससे कहीं घातक स्वाधीनतापश्चात् है। हमारे देश की कितनी ही पीढ़ियाँ तथ्यपरक तथा प्रामाणिक जानकारी के बजाय मुग़ल-काल से लेकर ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की सफलताओं को पढ़कर भ्रमित हो रही हैं। देश के नवयुवक को उसके अतीत-गौरव से जान-बूझकर विलग रखा जा रहा है। तथाकथित इतिहासकारों द्वारा पैदा की गई भ्रांतियों को वर्तमान में हो रहे शोधों के प्रकाश में समाप्त किया जा सकता है; परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश नवीन शोधों और निष्कर्षों को पाठ्यक्रम में स्थान नहीं मिल रहा है। सम्भवतः यही डर भी है कि अगर ये नवीन शोध प्रकाश में आ गये, तो अभी तक का उनका रचा हुआ सारा भ्रम दूर हो जायेगा और भारतीय इतिहास सर्वोच्चता को प्राप्त हो जायेगा। भारतीय इतिहास में व्याप्त विकृतियों को शोध के द्वारा निकल रहे नवीन निष्कर्षों के प्रकाश में दूर किए जाने की आज महती आवश्यकता है। इसके साथ ही आवश्यकता है कि भारत का इतिहास साक्ष्यों के आधार पर पुनः लिखा जाय ताकि भारत के गौरवशाली अतीत को पुनः सबके सामने लाया जा सके और भारतीयों को गर्व के साथ उन्हें पढ़ने का अवसर मिल सके। हर्ष का विषय है कि आज अनेक पाश्चात्य विद्वान् भारतीय चैतन्य के प्रकाश में भारतीय इतिहास में शोध-कार्य कर रहे हैं। प्रसिद्ध अमेरिकी विद्वान् डॉ० डेविड फ्रॉले के तथ्यपूर्ण विचार अत्यन्त ही दूरदर्शी और सार्थक हैं जिनके प्रकाश में भारतीय इतिहास का पुनर्लेखन होना चाहिए।

—अनुवादक

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इतिहास का पुनर्लेखन हमेशा से होता रहा है :

हा

हाल के वर्षों में भारत सरकार और राज्य-सरकारों ने इतिहास की पुस्तकों में संशोधन का निर्णय लिया, विशेष रूप से प्राचीन काल से संबंधित, जो नये तथ्यों के आधार पर आर्य-आक्रमण और इससे उपजे कई सिद्धान्तों पर प्रश्नचिह्न लगाता है।

पिछले कुछ दशकों में समूचे उत्तर भारत में कई पुरातात्विक खोजें हुई हैं जो क्षेत्र में इसकी व्यापकता और कालक्रम में इसकी निरन्तरता को उजागर करते हुए आर्य-आक्रमण सिद्धान्त को निर्मूल सिद्ध करती हैं।

पूर्वानुमेय रूप से जो बिल्कुल स्पष्ट था, उसपर भी भारत में वामपंथियों ने इतिहास के साथ छेड़छाड़ करने का रोगा रोया, मानो इतिहास एक निश्चित विज्ञान है जिसे समायोजित नहीं किया जा सकता। वास्तविकता यह है कि भारत में इतिहास की पुस्तकें अधिकांशतः अभी भी औपनिवेशिक काल से लेकर अबतक के भारत को ब्रिटिश दृष्टि से देखना ही सिखा रही हैं और देश की स्वाधीनता के साठ वर्ष बाद भी इस दृष्टिकोण में ज्यादा बदलाव नहीं आया है। अपवादस्वरूप इतिहास की किताबें मार्क्सवादी राज्यों, जैसे— बंगाल आदि में साम्यवादियों द्वारा पक्षपातपूर्णता से लिखी गई हैं, जो ब्रिटिश दृष्टि की बजाय और भी अधिक देश की परम्पराओं के विरुद्ध हैं।

इतिहास की पुस्तकों का हमेशा से पुनर्लेखन होता रहा है और ऐसा होना ही चाहिए, क्योंकि नयी जानकारी आती रहती है और संस्कृति के बारे में हमारी समझ का दायरा विस्तृत होता है; किन्तु इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं है कि इतिहास एक विचारधारा के अनुरूप लिखा जाये, जैसे कम्युनिस्ट रूस या नाजी जर्मनी में किया गया, लेकिन हमें इतिहास के पुराने अध्यायों को अटल निर्धारित सिद्धान्तों में भी नहीं बदलना चाहिए। इतिहास भौतिकविज्ञान की तरह एक 'मैटेरियल सायंस' नहीं है जिसकी विषयवस्तु केवल तथ्य होते हैं और यहाँ तक कि भौतिकविज्ञान की पाठ्यपुस्तकों को भी समय-समय पर अद्यतन किया जाता है। पाश्चात्य जगत् प्रायः इतिहास के अपने संस्करण को विज्ञान-जैसी निर्णायकता देने का प्रयास करता रहा है, परन्तु औपनिवेशिक युग के बाद हुए राजनीतिक परिवर्तनों ने विशेषरूप से अफ्रीका और एशिया के परिप्रेक्ष्य में पश्चिम के पूर्वाग्रहों को उजागर किया है। इतिहास के पश्चिमी विवरण को कभी भी भौतिकविज्ञान की निर्णायकता प्रदान नहीं की जा सकती और इसमें समय के साथ मौलिक परिवर्तन की उम्मीद की जानी चाहिए।

पूर्व और पश्चिम के इतिहास का औपनिवेशिक विकृतिकरण:

दो दशक पहले तक अमेरिका के इतिहास को वहाँ के मूल निवासियों, तथाकथित रेड इण्डियन्स के कोमल सफेद चमड़ीवाले उपनिवेशी, जो

विशाल भू-भाग में खेती करके अपने परिवारों का भरण-पोषण करना चाहते थे, पर प्रचण्ड आक्रमण के रूप में पढ़ाया जाता था। अमेरिका में ईसाइयों और शिक्षित यूरोपियों की भी स्पष्टतया यही दृष्टि थी। वास्तविक इतिहास का तात्पर्य ज़मीन और सत्ता के लिए मूलनिवासियों और उनकी संस्कृति का संहार करना था। सच यह है कि तथाकथित असभ्य लोगों ने सभी सन्धियों का पालन किया जबकि स्वयम्भू सभ्य गोरों ने किसी का भी नहीं।

अफ्रीका का यूरोपीय इतिहास भी ऐसे पूर्वाग्रहों से ग्रसित है जिसमें काले लोगों को असभ्य जंगली दिखाकर सफेद यूरोपियों द्वारा सभ्य बनाना था। अश्वेत लोगों की अपनी समृद्ध और प्राचीन संस्कृति थी जो उनके शोषण और नरसंहार का मुख्य बिन्दु थी, जिसे सभ्यता सिखाने की आड़ में छिपा दिया गया। यही प्रक्रिया औपनिवेशीय दुनिया के अन्य हिस्सों, जिनमें एशिया महाद्वीप भी शामिल है, में अपनाई गयी, जहाँ मूल निवासियों को पराधीन बनाकर उनकी संस्कृति को विकृत किया गया। अश्वेतों की तरह, कुछ एशियंस को भी दास बनाया गया, और उन्हे उनकी मातृभूमि से बेदखल करके विदेशों में ले जाया गया और उनका व्यावसायिक रूप से शोषण हुआ। इस कृत्य को ईसाइयत और यूरोपीय संस्कृति द्वारा 'सभ्यता के प्रसार' की संज्ञा दी गयी। इसी कारण दस लाख से भी अधिक भारतीयों को अपना देश छोड़ त्रिनिडाड व गुआना के कैरेबियन में जाना पड़ा।

यूरोपीयों ने भारतीयों के साथ भी ऐसा ही किया जैसा उन्होंने अमेरिका और अफ्रीका के लोगों के साथ किया जिसकी शुरुआत पुर्तगालियों द्वारा 16वीं शती में भारत को क्रूर तरीके से हड़पने से की। 1857 के भारतीय महायुद्ध का कारण भी अंग्रेजों द्वारा अपनाई गई आक्रामक और असहिष्णु नीतियाँ थीं जिनमें देश को निर्मम आर्थिक शोषण में जकड़ दिया। फिर भी भारत के इतिहास में जो यूरोपीयों द्वारा रचित है, ऐसे उत्पीड़न को निकाल दिया गया है और स्वाधीन भारत में भी इतिहास को बेहतर ढंग से नहीं लिखा गया है। ठीक इसी प्रकार मुस्लिम-काल की विनाश-क्रिया, जो धार्मिक, आर्थिक शोषण व नरसंहार की दृष्टि से ब्रिटिश काल से भी ज्यादा भयानक थीं, को भी इसी प्रकार या तो नकार दिया गया या उसको कम करके आँका गया ताकि धार्मिक अल्पसंख्यकों की भावनाओं को ठेस न पहुँचे।

फिर भी क्या कोई गम्भीरता से सोच सकता है कि विश्वभर में इतिहास के साथ औपनिवेशिक खिलवाड़ के परिप्रेक्ष्य में जो अब धीरे-धीरे दूर किया जा रहा है, भारत में इतिहास के पुनर्लेखन की कोई विशेष आवश्यकता नहीं है? क्या हम विश्वास कर सकते हैं कि संयोग से औपनिवेशिक और यूरोपीय विद्वानों ने उनके पूर्वाग्रहों के बाद भी भारतीय इतिहास को ठीक से समझा और बिना किसी झुकाव या तोड़-मरोड़ के इसे लिखा? यद्यपि और सभी जगह वे ऐसा करने में

विफल रहे।

अमेरिका में उदारवादी और वामपंथी अफ्रीका और अमेरिका की मूल संस्कृतियों के साथ सहानुभूति रखते हैं और उनके ऐतिहासिक विवरणों को ठीक करने के पक्षधर भी हैं। परन्तु आश्चर्य है कि भारतीय वामपंथी अभी भी औपनिवेशिक दृष्टिकोण, जैसे 'अंग्रेजों के आने से पहले भारतीय असभ्य थे'— को ही प्रतिपादित करते हैं और अपनी ही परम्पराओं को तिरस्कृत करते हैं।

जब चीन साम्यवादी देश में प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक सामग्री मिलती है, जैसा कि प्रथम सम्राट की ईसा पूर्व तीसरी सदी की कब्र, वहाँ के साम्यवादियों के लिए भी यह राष्ट्रीय गौरव की बात है। परन्तु भारत में वामपंथी-सेक्युलर बुद्धिजीवियों के लिए हड़प्पा/सरस्वती की विशाल संस्कृतियाँ और बृहत् सरस्वती नदी की धारा की खोज का कोई महत्त्व नहीं है। वे या तो इनकी उपेक्षा करेंगे या 'हिंदू-साम्प्रदायिकवादियों द्वारा गढ़ी हुई कहानी' बताकर नकारेंगे या सोचेंगे कि यह अनजान सभ्यता का हिस्सा है जो रहस्यमय ढंग से विलुप्त हो गयी तथा जिसका देश की परम्पराओं से कोई संबंध नहीं है। यद्यपि वैदिक साहित्य हर दृष्टि से संसार में विशिष्ट है तथापि भारतीय वामपंथियों के लिए यह कोई गर्व की बात नहीं है और वे इसे हमेशा नीचा दिखाने का हरसम्भव प्रयास करते हैं। यद्यपि *महाभारत* अपने दो हजार वर्ष के इतिहास से विश्व का प्राचीनतम और सबसे बड़ा राष्ट्रीय महाकाव्य है, तथापि भारतीय वामपंथी चाहते हैं कि स्कूलों में इसे पढ़ाया तक न जाये। जबकि आमजन महाभारत को दूरदर्शन पर देखने में भी गर्व का अनुभव करते हैं।

इस संबंध में हमें यह स्मरण रखना होगा कि भारत में मार्क्सवाद और साम्यवाद मुख्यरूप से राष्ट्रविरोधी आन्दोलन हैं। 1962 के भारत-चीन युद्ध के दौरान भारतीय मार्क्सवादियों ने चीन का समर्थन किया था और चीनी आक्रमण की कोई भर्त्सना नहीं की। स्वाधीनता के आन्दोलन में भी उन्होंने अंग्रेजों का साथ दिया था। यह रूस, चीन और वियतनाम में साम्यवाद के ठीक विपरीत है जो विशाल राष्ट्रवादी आन्दोलन का हिस्सा था। इसका कारण यह है कि भारतीय मार्क्सवादी मुख्यतः ब्रिटिश मार्क्सवादी पृष्ठभूमि से आये और औपनिवेशिक विरोधी संघर्षों में कभी भाग नहीं लिया जैसा कि माओ और हो-ची-मिन्ह के अनुयायियों ने लिया था। वे अधिकतर अमीर घरानों के बुद्धिजीवी थे जिन्होंने इंग्लैण्ड में शिक्षा-दीक्षा पाई, न कि खेतों के मजदूर या स्वाधीनता सेनानी।

वास्तव में इतिहास का विकृतिकरण कई आधुनिक भारतीय इतिहासकारों द्वारा, विशेषकर हिंदुओं के विरुद्ध हुए अत्याचारों को छिपाने के लिए, जानबूझकर किया गया कृत्य है। उनका मानना है कि ऐसे इतिहास को ठीक करके वर्तमान को बदला जा सकता है। वे

दिखाने का प्रयास करते हैं कि भारत में सामान्यतः क्रूर दिखनेवाला शासनकाल उदार और धर्मनिरपेक्ष था और इस प्रकार यह विवरण आज के हिंदू और मुसलमानों को एक-दूसरे के प्रति उदार और सहिष्णु बनाने और अतीत को भुलाने में सहयोगी होगा। परन्तु सत्यता ठीक इसके विपरीत है। **यदि कोई राष्ट्र अपने अतीत के सच्चे इतिहास से परिचित नहीं होता है तो उसका कोई भविष्य नहीं है और उसका वर्तमान भी भ्रमित रहता है।** यह ठीक वैसे ही है जैसे अमेरिकी इतिहासकार स्वांग भरें या ढोंग करें कि मूल अमेरिकी लोगों (रेड इण्डियन्स) के साथ अतीत में अच्छा व्यवहार हुआ और उनपर अत्याचार वा नरसंहार की घटनाएँ झूठ और अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण बातें हैं, ताकि दोनों समुदायों के बीच आज सामंजस्य स्थापित किया जा सके। ऐसा करना पुराने पूर्वाग्रहों को बनाये रखना है।

भारत ने अपने अतीत का सामना नहीं किया है जिससे कि देश में अल्पसंख्यकों को ठेस न पहुँचे और जो हिंदू और बौद्ध-संस्कृतियों से मेल न खाता हो। यह भी जान-बूझकर किया गया है ताकि बहुसंख्यक समुदाय उनके औपनिवेशिक और धार्मिक अत्याचारों के प्रति सजग न हो जाये, इस डर से कि यह साम्प्रदायिक असहिष्णुता न बढ़ा दे, जबकि इससे उपजी विकृतियाँ, जैसे हिंदुओं की पिछड़े मूर्तिपूजक की छवि आज भी संसार में विद्यमान है। इसका दुष्परिणाम यह हुआ कि देश में सच्चे राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान और प्राचीन काल से ही इसकी निरन्तरता का न होने की भावना है।

इतिहास और राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान :

इतिहास की पुस्तकों का एक मुख्य उद्देश्य, जैसा कि विश्व के विभिन्न देशों में पढ़ाया जाता है, लोगों में राष्ट्रीय गौरव और सम्मान की भावना जागृत करना है। चाहे ये देश अमेरिका, ग्रेट ब्रिटेन, रूस, जर्मनी या चीन ही हों, जबसे इनकी आधुनिक राष्ट्र के रूप में उत्पत्ति हुई है, ऐसी ही भावनाओं को उत्पन्न किया है। महान् लोगों की जीवनियाँ, विशेषकर देश के संस्थापकों के प्रति लोगों का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया जाता है, देश के इतिहास की निरन्तरता पर विशेष बल दिया जाता है और संसार के इतिहास में अपने देश की महत्ता और राष्ट्रीय संस्कृति की महानता को रेखांकित किया जाता है। विद्यार्थियों से आशा की जाती है कि ऐसा इतिहास पढ़कर वे राष्ट्रीय महानता और प्रयोजन की भावना से अतीत ही नहीं बल्कि भविष्य के प्रति भी ओत-प्रोत हों। तथापि भारत एक विचित्र एवं अजीब देश है जहाँ इतिहास की पुस्तकें अक्सर राष्ट्रविरोधी धारणा की हैं। भारत ने मूलरूप से भारतीय इतिहास के प्रति ब्रितानी दृष्टिकोण, जो औपनिवेशिक काल में प्रतिपादित किया था, को अक्षुण्ण रखा है। विद्यार्थी ऐसी पुस्तकें पढ़कर अपने देश और परम्पराओं के प्रति क्षमाप्रार्थी या भ्रमित प्रतीत होते हैं। भारत के वामपंथशासित राज्यों, जैसे— बंगाल और केरल में इतिहास

की पुस्तकें विद्यार्थियों में साम्यवाद और साम्यवादी देश, जैसे— चीन या रूस, जो अब साम्यवादी नहीं हैं, के प्रति महानता की भावना पैदा करती है, बजाय कि अपने देश और इसकी महान् परम्पराओं के प्रति आदरभाव। भारत में इतिहास की पुस्तकें राष्ट्र में विशिष्ट हिंदू-मान्यताओं और इस्लामी काल से पहले के इतिहास की उपेक्षा करती हैं। भारत का महानतम ऐतिहासिक और सांस्कृतिक दस्तावेज, *महाभारत* को विद्यालयों में नहीं पढ़ाया जाता। इसी प्रकार वेद, *रामायण*, पुराण, बौद्ध जातक कथाएँ और राष्ट्र के अन्य ऐतिहासिक और सांस्कृतिक दस्तावेजों की धार्मिक व्यञ्जना के कारण जान-बूझकर उपेक्षा की जाती है। यदि वे भारत को एक राष्ट्र के रूप में सम्बोधित करते भी हैं तो यह केवल स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के काल के भारत को करते हैं, मानो जैसे 1947 से पहले भारत का कोई अस्तित्व ही न था। इतिहास में नेहरू को तो महत्त्व दिया जाता है जबकि प्राचीन भारत के वैदिक राजाओं और *महाभारत* के युधिष्ठिर से लेकर 18वीं शती के मराठाओं का कहीं उल्लेख भी नहीं है। सही अर्थों में कहीं भी संस्कृति में ऐतिहासिक निरन्तरता नहीं दिखाई देती, देश की बात ही क्या कहें ! महात्मा गाँधी को तो खूब प्रमुखता दी जाती है जबकि भारत की महान् आध्यात्मिक परम्पराओं और इसके महान गुरुओं, वैदिक ऋषियों, वेदान्तिक, बौद्ध और जैन-साधुओं तथा आधुनिक योगी, जैसे— श्रीअरविन्द और रमण महर्षि को कोई स्थान नहीं दिया गया।

यह सत्य है कि इतिहास केवल विनाशकारी राष्ट्रवाद का साधन न होकर दूसरे देशों और लोगों के प्रति आक्रामकता पैदा करने से बचे, तथापि राष्ट्रीय इतिहास में जो बहुमूल्य है, उसे प्रकाशित करे। परन्तु यह सब करने के लिए इतिहास के अध्ययन के राष्ट्रीय महत्त्व की उपेक्षा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं।

इसलिए महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न यह है कि भारत में ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं को कैसे वास्तविक राष्ट्रवाद और देश के इतिहास और नियति का विवरण बनाया जाये ताकि लोगों में सच्ची राष्ट्रीयता की भावना जागृत की जा सके। आखिरकार भारत विश्व की महान् सभ्यताओं में से एक है जिसकी सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं का मानवता के लिए बड़ा महत्त्व है। अतः आवश्यक है कि ऐतिहासिक घटनायें अनिवार्य रूप से भारतीय सभ्यता की समृद्धि और विविधता को प्रतिबिम्बित करें, परन्तु इसकी एकता और निरन्तरता की भी उपेक्षा न हो।

सच्चाई यह है कि इतिहास की पुस्तकों, जो सकारात्मक राष्ट्रवाद की भावना पैदा करती हैं, के बिना एक राष्ट्र का निर्माण नहीं कर सकते। भारत में वास्तविक खतरा नाजी जर्मनी या फासिस्ट इटली-जैसा उग्र राष्ट्रवाद उत्पन्न होने से नहीं है अपितु राष्ट्रीय भावना और ऐतिहासिक चेतना के न होने से है, जो लोगों को अपनी जड़ों से

विमुख करती है और देश को खण्डित रखती है।

भारत को सच्ची राष्ट्रीय भावना की आवश्यकता है और इसके लिए इतिहास का मनोभाव राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि, गौरव और उद्देश्य का होना आवश्यक है। सही मायने में भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद की जड़ें भारत में धर्म, अध्यात्म और बहुसंख्यावाद की मान्यताओं में निहित है। परन्तु इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा दिए बगैर राष्ट्रीय और ऐतिहासिक स्वाभिमान नहीं हो सकता। इसके ठीक विपरीत धार्मिक, जातीय और क्षेत्रवाद के निहित स्वार्थों को विखण्डित करनेवाले प्रभाव का मज़बूत राष्ट्रीय पहचान की भावना से ही मुकाबला किया जा सकता है।

इसलिए आज हम प्रश्न करें : क्यों नहीं भारतीय लोग भारत के परम्परागत प्राचीन साहित्य, वेद को इसके हड़प्पा और सरस्वती नदी के कई पुरातात्विक स्थलों से जोड़ सकते ? क्यों भारत में इतिहास को राष्ट्रीय गौरव के बजाय राष्ट्रीय शर्मिंदगी पैदा करने के लिए प्रयोग किया जाय ? क्यों भारत का इतिहास भारतीय सभ्यता को भारत से बाहर स्थापित करे ? ये वे प्रश्न हैं जिनका उत्तर अनिवार्य रूप से देना ही होगा।

इतिहास की पाश्चात्य और प्राच्य दृष्टिकोण :

पश्चिमी सन्दर्भ में इतिहास का विषय भारतीय सन्दर्भ से नितांत भिन्न है। पश्चिम की दृष्टि में इतिहास मुख्य रूप से राजनैतिक घटनाओं और आर्थिक उन्नति का लेखा-जोखा है जो विशुद्ध रूप से एक बाहरी प्रक्रिया है। हिंदू-दृष्टि से इतिहास निर्लिप्तता सिखाने का साधन है जो यह दर्शाता है कि कालचक्र में कैसे महान् राजा और उनके साम्राज्य आते और जाते रहते हैं। इसका अध्यात्म-शिक्षा के रूप में आन्तरिक महत्त्व है जो मानव जीवन को भौतिक चिन्ताओं से मुक्त करने की शिक्षा देता है। पश्चिम दृष्टि में इतिहास मानव की भौतिक उन्नति की कहानी है। भारतीय परिप्रेक्ष्य में इतिहास पुनरावृत्त होनेवाला चक्र है जिसमें कई संस्कृतियाँ आती-जाती रहती हैं जबकि आत्मा भौतिक संसार से मुक्ति प्राप्त करती है।

इतिहास का पश्चिमी प्रगतिशील दृष्टिकोण अत्यन्त दोषपूर्ण है। उदाहरणार्थ प्राचीन विश्व की सबसे पहली सभ्यताएँ, जिन्हें हम प्रमाणित कर सकते हैं, जिनमें मिस्र, सुमेर, भारत और चीन शामिल हैं, अपने को कभी सबसे पहली सभ्यता नहीं मानते; क्योंकि उनको भीषण बाढ़ आने से पहले की अनेक संस्कृतियों की जानकारी थी। जिन सभ्यताओं को हम सबसे पहली मानते हैं, वे अपने को पूर्व-वृत्तान्तों सहित बहुत प्राचीन मानती हैं। फिर भी हम ऐसा सोचते हैं कि उनसे पहले कुछ नहीं था। इसके अलावा ईसा से तीन शती पूर्व की सभ्यताएँ, जैसे— मिस्र और भारत की हड़प्पा/सरस्वती सभ्यता, शहरी और

स्थापत्यकला की दृष्टि से उनके बादवाली सभ्यताओं से पर्याप्त उन्नत थी। बल्कि यूरोप भी रोमनकाल के बाद अन्धकार युग से गुजरा है, जिसमें काफी ज्ञान नष्ट हो गया था। इतिहास का एक सीधी रेखा में उन्नति का विचार उपयुक्त नहीं है। यद्यपि मानवता ने वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से प्रगति की है जिसका इतिहास केवल 5 हजार साल का ही है। दूसरी ओर प्राचीन काल से हम आध्यात्मिक हास देखते हैं, और पिछली शती में हम यूरोप में संस्कृति, कला, संगीत और दर्शनशास्त्र में भी गिरावट देखते हैं, जो संयोग से विज्ञान की उन्नति के कारण हुई या इसके साथ घटी है।

चूँकि केवल भारत ही प्राचीन की ऐसी सभ्यता है जो समय के उग्र आक्रमण सहकर भी जीवित है, भारतीयों का यह विशेष उत्तरदायित्व बनता है कि वे अपने इतिहास को ही केवल न जानें, अपितु समूचे प्राचीन विश्व के इतिहास के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त करें। जैसे कि प्राचीन भारत की निर्विवादित विकृतियाँ हैं, उसी प्रकार दूसरी प्राचीन संस्कृतियों में भी विकृतियाँ विद्यमान हैं। उदाहरण के लिए प्राचीन मित्र का धर्म जो वेदों में गूढ़ विद्या और अध्यात्म की महत्ता को दर्शाता है, को भी 'पॉलिथिज्म' (बहुदेववाद) कहकर नकार दिया जाता है। भारतीय विद्यालयों में इतिहास पढ़ाने के तरीकों को ठीक कर दिया जाये तो यह निश्चित रूप से प्रामाणिक और आध्यात्मिक रूप से इतिहास के प्रति संवेदनावाला बड़ा कदम होगा। यह वैज्ञानिक और आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से अति महत्वपूर्ण है, भारत के लिए ही नहीं, अपितु सभी देशों के लिए।



News & Communications

We have received following communications from eminent scholars from Odisha on 'Tribals of Odisha. We publish these with thanks to these scholars. [Ed.]

Tribal Culture of Orissa

Dr. A.C. Sahoo

(Ex. Director, ATDC, Bhubaneswar)



tribals of different denominations constitute an integral part of Orissa state. It gives shelter to sixty two varieties of fascinating and colourful tribal communities, numbering 8145081, which are 22.13% of the total state population as per

census 2001. Tribe is a social group usually with definite area language, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation, it is used to have a leader and may have common ancestor as well as patron deity. The families are linked through economic, social, political and religious ties. In respect of their geographic location, physiographic condition of living, degree of isolation and contact with outside people, they differ from each other. In order to understand the variations among them one can look into the striking close similarity and distinction between them. Each tribal community has its own identity and distinguishing socio-cultural features. The tribal people express their cultural and distinctiveness in their dress, ornaments, adornment pattern, art and craft, and also in their language, social organization, rituals and festivals. Some of the culturally significant and unique tribal communities of the state are the Bonda, Koya, Gadaba, Dharua, Bhumia, Bhotara, Paraja, Kondh, Malhar, Saora,

Santal, Gond, Banjara, Juang, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Kisan, Bhumija, Birhor, Lodha etc. The Kondhs are having their ethno cultural variations or sub-tribes such as the Dongaria Kondh, Desia Kondh, Kutia Kondh, Malia Kondh, Pengo Kondh, Nangala Kondh, Buhar Kondh, Sitha Kondh, Budha Kondh etc. and the Saora has sub-tribes such as Lanjia Saora, Arsi Saora, Kampu Saora, Sudha Saora etc. There are thirteen identified primitive tribal groups who lead relatively secluded and archaic mode of life keeping their core culture intact.

The tribes inhabiting Orissa can be broadly classified into three ethno-linguistic groups such as Austro Asiatic, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. The tribal people have their own language which may have similarities or linkage with the language of neighbouring tribal groups provided they belong to the same broad linguistic class. Some of the tribes like the Santal, Saora, Ho and Kondh have developed their respective script for their language. The Santals and Saoras have already published lot of materials in their own scripts. After inclusion of Santali Language in 8th Schedule a lot of publications are coming up in Santali Language in Ol-Chiki script.

The unrestricted exploitation of the tribals reduced them to abject poverty and misery in spite of abundant natural and human resources potentiality in their areas. Each tribal community has its own rules of business and tricks of trade which help its people to define their relationship with one another to live and work together. They pursue their subsistence economy in a variety of ways by means of small scale technology, which vary from tribe to tribe. Some subsist on shifting

cultivation, some others on settled cultivation and some are pastorals and a few others maintain nomadic or semi-nomadic lives who mostly subsist on food gathering and hunting. Even today a number of tribes practise slash and burn type of rotation cultivation. It is not only an economic pursuit but it accounts for their total way of life. It is linked with their social structure, economic organization, political life and religious activities. It is definitely a pernicious practise but most unavoidable. Several tribal communities practised settle agriculture but supplement their economy with hunting, food gathering and collection. In spite of special endeavours agriculture in tribal areas is comparatively unproductive and uneconomic. In this regard land alienation, indebtedness, lack of irrigation facilities, undulating terrains are mainly responsible. Sizable tribal populations are working as mining and industrial labourers. During half a century, because of operation of mining and establishment of industries in their areas the tribals have preferred earning a secured living as wages labourers. The women in all the tribal communities play pivotal role in their economic organization. From dawn to dusk, throughout the year and life, they remain busy in different socio-economic activities.

The social life of the tribals is expressed in their social groups meant for effective activities for common existence under the bonds of relationship. They have their respective social structure and organization and activities set in a specific frame of network. Since relations between individuals are direct and intimate they design their social system for smooth management of their day to day activities. The basic principle of alignment is guided by established values of the community. They have retained their own way of managing internal affairs of the village mainly through two institutions namely, the traditional village council and the youth dormitory. The dormitory in case of some tribal communities is the core of their culture and it reinforces the age-old traditions. The dormitory is so to say a school of dancing and expression of the communal art of the people, and considered as the centre of social, economic and religious activities of the village. It is an institution, where they develop their basic personality and get trained for future life.

The majority of the tribal communities of Orissa are divided into exogamous clans, some

having totemic symbols, Bonda is one of the culturally rich tribes having dual social organization and Saora is reported to have descent groups known as Birinda. Koya is a Dravidian tribe which has more than two social divisions termed as phratries, and each phratry is divided into several exogamous clans. The Bagata are having totemic clans such as elephant, monkey, bird etc. and the Bhathudis have clans like snake, conch, wild grass, wild fruit etc. Clan exogamy is a rule for each tribe and clan plays vital role in several socio-cultural matters.

The ceremonies and festivals of the tribes are observed at family and village level. The ceremonies and rites relating to birth of a child, marriage and death are observed family wise but those relating to various agricultural cycle, eating of new fruits, hunting etc. are observed by the villagers at community level. Some of the important festivals observed by the tribal communities of Orissa are Guar ceremony of the Saora, Gotar of the Gadaba, Push Punei of the Juang. Kedu of the Kondh, Karam festival of the Oraon, Chait Parab of the Bonda, Makar Parab of the Santal etc.

Despite their economic hazards and continuous struggle for survival, they have retained the rich and varied heritage of colourful dance and music. The performance of dance and music gives expression of the inner feelings, joys and sorrows, natural affection and passion and appreciation of beauty and melodious. The dance and music practised and its pattern vary from one tribal community to other, however, similarities in different aspects of dance and music of different tribal communities living in one area may not be overruled. Tribal dances, accompanied by means of which the rhythm is carried on, different musical instrument and music generated have their respective significance according to the occasion and purpose. Not only the colorful dance and music and its performance but also costumes and adornment pattern vary from each other because of their respective cultural identity. The tribal people also express their joy and free life in their tribal arts and crafts. They reveal their aesthetic manifestation and cultural self image through their culture specific artistic skill. Mostly they express it in their dress and ornaments, wall paintings, wood carving, household object, personal belongings and materials of magico-religious significance. Beautiful geometrical designs and figures of natural objects

are the best example of tribal art forms.

All the tribal communities of Orissa are having their traditional political council, however, norms, customary laws and social sanctions, by large and culture specific. The political life of the tribals in Orissa reflects a paradoxical situation in which democracy and monarchy co-exist. By and large they accepted, obey and honour their traditional leader for establishment of health and happiness in the community. Mostly the post of traditional leader is hereditary; however, in exceptional situation they may select a new leader. Usually the traditional leader governs their respective community due to whole heart support of their tribes men. In certain tribes the same functionary acts as secular and religious head. There are tribal communities in Orissa which are having their demarcated territorial boundaries those are united through kinship, marriage and frequent individual contact and where it is difficult to distinguish political matter from domestic affairs. Furthermore, the village communities have social control over its people. Village elders meet quite often either in the morning or in the evening to discuss community matters. Some of the very important matters which are brought to the notice of the traditional village council are marriage disputes, quarrel, conflicts, and disputes relating to property, adultery, theft, willful, destruction of their property, witchcraft and sorcery, deprivation of social economic rights etc. The traditional leadership is corporate in nature and joint authority system is still prevalent. The position of the village priest, secular head and a few other important functionaries are hereditary and they are invariably from original settlers of the area. Truth of an incident is determined by oath and ordeals. The relevance of tribal organizations and important institutions are meant for socio economic development. The tribal elites are respected and used to continue influence over their fellow tribesmen. The political development of tribal people in Orissa with abolition of the feudal system is marked with the increase in the representation in the Panchayat Raj Administrative System. The village traditional council exercises a limited control over public behaviour of its people.

Due to long continuous contacts with non-tribal people and because of urbanization, modernization industrialization, implementation development schemes, developmental activities and

several external factors the tribal people are changing very fast. Many more tribals have undergone selective acculturation and have added selected traders of features of the regional non-tribal people. In addition to this, impact of globalization are mostly responsible for cultural transformation and change in ethical value and style of the tribals..

Problems and Prospects of the Study of Tribal History and Culture in Orissa

Dr. Narayan Rao



here seems to be an increasing interest in the nineteen million tribal inhabitants of India, but unfortunately the quality in interest, and the kind of material on which the interest is fed, is often such as to give a very one sided view of tribal life as it exists

today. Truth is often prosaic, but many people seem to thrive on a romantic rather than a truthful picture of the situation. Survey shows that in India, there are 427 scheduled Tribes with different socio-economic spectrum. The tribal population of India may be divided into three principal territorial zones, namely the North Eastern, the Central and the Southern. The north eastern zone is inhabited by tribes like the Gurung, Limbu, Lepaha, Aka, Dafla, Abor-miri, Mishmi, Singpho, Rabha, Kachari, Khasi, Naga, Chamka & others. The Central zone is inhabited by tribes like Santal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Bhumij, Kharia, Bhuiyan, Juang, Kandh, Savara, Gand, Bhir etc. The Southern zone is inhabited by tribes like the Chenchu, Kata, Kurumba, Toda, Kadar, Muthuvan, Urali, Kannikar etc. In addition to the above zones, tribes like Jarawa, Onge etc. live in Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Out of all these tribes 62 live Orissa, constituting nearly 24% of her total population. There are 12 major tribes, mostly concentrated in Mayurbhanj, Koraput, Ganjam, Sundargarh and Phulbali districts. They are Kondh, Gond, Santal, Saora, Kolha, Munda, Paroja, Bhyuiyan, Kisan,

Oraon, Koya and Gadba. Though there is considerable research in this field during recent years, yet, creative historical studies on the socio-economic and cultural aspects on the tribes of Orissa are rare. Little is known and much remain yet unknown.

The Governments in Orissa in the Pre-British period, although knew of tribal people, dealings with them did not constitute an important element in the State policy. But British rule in Orissa not only underlay an acute awareness of the tribal problems, but also, formulated a definite policy to tackle it. They were mainly meant to safeguard their vested interests from the impromptu tribal revolts and the efforts of Christian missionaries to facilitate the tribal people's conversion to the new faith. However, the contact was not uniform in character to create in all the tracts an impact of identical intensity, as all the tribal tracts of modern Orissa did not come under British control at the same time. For example, Ganjam was under the British since 1760, but a definite policy to deal with the Kandhs emerged after seven decades.

Therefore, there is always the paucity of written records. Gazetteers and manuals of districts were mainly meant for administrators. Very few official reports on tribes of Orissa have been printed by the Government. There are a few published memories of early British officials like Campbell, Macpherson and others. A few works of the missionaries like Shute only help in reconstructing the social dimensions of the tribal life in the past. Age old prejudices, love for isolated life, unwillingness to establish relation with non-tribals, lack of adaptability to changing ecological environment and national forest policy led to the concept that the tribals are born in debts, live in debts and die in debts.

Hence, the tribal History should be studied in broadly two aspects (I) a critical review of the Government's relation with the principal tribes, highlighting the distinctive phase in the evolution of Govt's policy and the reaction it provoked in the tribesmen. (2) the transformation of tribal life in its varied aspects as a result of the extraneous political and economic process set off by an alien administration. The 19th century witnessed sporadic tribal unrest in the Garjat states at the periphery of the Mughalbandi regions of Orissa. It is natural that extraneous forces released by the

administration affected the time honoured and cherished values of the tribals and setting off reaction in them. Tribal unrest needs to be viewed in a new light. Instead of merely narrating the cause, course and sequences of a particular violent incident, it is better to take an overall view of these incidents as a definite phenomenon in the primitive society caused by specific set of factors generated by the process on which the tribals themselves could have no control. One theme in tribal study, which has received historical treatment is the rites of human sacrifice and female infanticide. There is more stress on Govt's measure to suppress these institutions. This is often an one sided view. There lies a lot of scope to analyse these institutions in their socially functional aspect and to coordinate them to the tribal economic organization and general cultural life. The myth and folklores woven around these magico-religious institutions could well be used as tools to trace the social change in the tribals.

Tribals as group of individuals should be not only the focus of study, but tribal institutions as well, their own taboos, make belief and peculiar compulsion of life style. So any attempt of administration of an alien rule to make an inroad into the tribal society by way of reformatory changes, however laudable, is bound to be resisted with all their individual and collective might. Hence many tribal movements were restorative in character. There was an attempt to look back into the past, when life was much better. The movements were being assisted by traditionally affluent section, whose privileges had been undermined as the result of colonization. It also gained solidarity, transcending territorial and ethnic boundaries. In fact, the socio-economic aspects of tribal life could be best done, if the tribals are viewed as constituents of a peasant society. In the matter of languages, there must be no compulsion whatever. If they have got a developed script, we must encourage it. The Kandhs in Orissa speak the Kui languages. Santali, Savara and Gadava languages are also spoken in Orissa. These languages have folk-tales and songs which are quite distinctive. Although these languages are treated with sympathy and their study is encouraged, yet, due to acculturation or Sanskritisation, the ultimate disappearance of their speech seems to be inevitable.

Thus, the very nature of study would require

multi disciplinary approach. It can better be analysed with the integrated approach of a historian, sociologist, anthropologist, linguist and economist. Immigration of a chain of resourceful peasants, money lenders and scribes from the coastal plains to the tribal hinterland and the process of forced assimilation of the tribes with the economic policies pursued by the immigrants such as improvement of land, introduction of improved agricultural practices, communication, currency is the place of better system of exchange, alternation of land ownership of tribal rayats and eviction of tribal tenants have resulted in tribal alienation of the elite. These agents of change being supported by the Government abused their powers so wantonly that it resulted in triggering off tribal unrest. It destroyed tribal economy and shattered the bonds which knit the different segments of tribal society together. The land revenue policy of the British Govt. based on frequent settlements and revisions of rent ultimately led to pauperisation of tribal peasantry and resultant unrest and violence in the tribal society.

Almost all the tribal revolts can be construed as the precursor of the national liberation movement. Whatever their formal education, training and leadership, the unmistakable fact remains that they could no longer meekly submit to the intervention of foreign rules and their collaborators in their habitat, age old customs, rituals and cultural moths.

Contemporary records would establish that the march of civilization had led to progressive loss of traditional tribal values, sapping the very foundation of tribal culture and the very base of tribal character. The preservance of tribal exclusiveness is the pre-requisite to tribal identity. Outright assimilation is to be avoided. Morally the problem is how to preserve the cultural self image of the tribals while widening their economic and political frontier. The distinctiveness of their language, folk tales, songs, dances and the dormitory system are to be treated with sympathy. People are anxious to shape others according to their own image or likeness and to impose on them their particulars way of living. We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. The need today is to understand these people and make them understand us and thus, create a bond of affection

and understanding. Otherwise, growing political awareness would lead to distintegration of India, thereby weakening national unity and the composite culture.

The Highest Tribal Blood Bath

Dr. Umakanta Panda,
Convener



he Movement of Tribals for "Khuntkatti System" is no less than a movement to owe their natural rights. Teh innocent helpless and the poor tribals of Amko-Simko fought for their right prevailing in their social system. During that time

Gangpur, a princely state was ruled by "Rani Saheba" and was assisted by Political Agent on behalf of the British Administration. Life in princely state was very restricted and insecure. People could hardly make any contact with outer world facing the wrath of the rules. News paper containing any inflammatory information regarding political movement was destroyed in the post office, instantly by the police. Any individual contact with any political worker or association was looked upon suspiciously by the administration. Anybody might be arrested on suspicion. Some might may be accused "Rajdrohi" if their activities went against the interest of the ruler or against the British Raj. Under this prevailing situation very few could come out of their confinement to resist the law. Since a movement in these areas was not easy task Mahatma Gandhi asked his subordinate not to waste much time if people were not co-operative in the effort. He had strong belief that once India gains freedom, the princely states would merge in to India of their own.

The first land settlement was done in 1911 A.D. by C.W.E. cornolly, which showed the seeds of dissatisfaction among the tribals. The tribal who were the original settlers of this region enjoyed unrestricted freedom over their land and forest. The Act put a restriction and gave a jolt to tribal freedom. Teh Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act of 190, which recognized the "Khut Katidar" right to the

tribals was done away by settlement Act 1911.

The Nayabadi settlement of 1923-24 further increased revenue on land and created a sense of paying among the tribals. The 1923-31 settlement by Upendra Ghosh succeeded by Indrabilash Mukherjee in 1932 A.D. forced the tribals to revolt against the way of settlement. It virtually took away the rights of the tribals over their landed property. Tribals who would not pay revenue were forced to do Bethi for the queen. They were subjected to in-human treatment by the ruler of Gangpur State "Rani Janaki Ratna" on behalf of the British.

The Munda Adivasi of Raiboga declined to pay the land revenue enhanced in the revision settlement, which concluded in 1936 A.D. "No Rent Campaign" and not to subject to Bethi system was started under the leadership of "Nirmal Munda". They appealed to Governor General for immediate withdrawal of the Act. In 1938 A.D. the movement spread over the entire Gangpur State and nobody came forward to pay tax. Nirmal Munda moved from villages to hold meeting among tribals and urged them to be united and fight out their cause i.e. reduction of rent and resumption of Khuntkatti Tenancy Act. By 1938 the agitation started by Nirmal Munda spread through the nook and corner of the Gangpur State. Much before the publication of the final report of Mukherjee settlement Nirmal Munda (Dang) of village Bartoli under Raiboga Police Station had started a peasant's movement in 1934. He tabled a charter of demands such as:

- * Revision of land settlement.
- * Implementation of Khuntkatti Act., Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 in Gangpur.
- * Abolition of Bethi and Begari.
- * Rights of the subjects over the forest Hilly Land.
- * Waiving of the revenue taxation.
- * A solution of unemployment problem.
- * Spreading out education.

But the Durbar administration rejected all his demands outright. Hence in September 1935 the Mundas petitioned through the agent to the Durbar protesting the exorbitant rate of rent. But before petition being placed for consideration the state submitted the settlement report of 1936. The people were stunned to shut this report in which the uphill Goda lands were brought under assessment. Land revenue increased, Khuntkatti right not reviewed

and Bethi and Begari left un-banned. The new rent as fixed by the Mukherjee settlement became payable from 1937. The people therefore demanded a reduction in the rate of rents. But the Durbar administration lent a deaf ear to such popular demand and the wound of the tribals as a result of which the unrest exploded.

The whirlpool of the no rent campaign did not subside. No rent campaigners like Bahadur Bhagat of Andali Jambahal, Tintus Munda and Yakub Gudia of Dahijira came forward to assist Nirmal Munda in spearheading this agitation. A series of meetings highlighting the genesis of this agitation and demanding the reduction of rents and abolition of Bethi and Begari were organised in different parts of Gangpur state.

Gradually this agitation spread like prairie fire throughout the Gangpur state in 1938. Some of the pleaders of Ranchi in Bihar gave a moral boost to this agitation. As this agitation being intensified with inclusion of peasants from all community, spread far and wide. The Tahasildar of Gangpur was sent to persuade the Rayats to accept the new order. The Durbar also appealed to the G.E.L. church council sent a delegation to the Durbar, which after a long discussion accepted the views of the state. The party of delegation visited Dahijira and other affected villages and explained to the people the reasonableness and necessity of making payment of rents to the Durbar. By their efforts a major portion of rents were collected, but they failed to change the attitude of the no rent campaigner towards the Durbar administration. Now the Regent Rani Saheba, Janaki Ratna made extensive tours in disturbed areas and addressed several meetings, explaining the policies of Durbar to tribal people. Appeal was made to them to pay the rent. But the rebel Mundas boycotted all the meetings of Regent Rani Saheba. When the areas amounted to Rs. 63,000 on 9th February 1939, the Maharani convened a meeting at Sargipali to hear the grievances of the people and to induce them to pay rents. At this meeting five thousand people gathered from over 30 villages submitted a joint petition seeking the redressal of the following grievances:

- * Revision of land settlement.
- * The settlement of 1910 to remain in force.
- * Forest rights enumerated in 1910 settlement be restored.

- * Chowkidari Tax of 12 seers of rice and 3 annas in cash per household is remitted.
- * The people to be allowed to the hides of their own cattle, instead of the monopolist appropriating them to himself.
- * Free transfer of land be allowed without and fee.
- * Total abolition of unpaid forced labour, Bethi (Nazarana), imprest provisions, Magan Pancha (forcible contribution in cash or kind).
- * Representative Government in which the people can exercise the vote, to be introduced.
- * Permission to pay bullock carts on the roads built by the people.
- * Tanks be dug and embankments built by the state wherever necessary for irrigation purpose.
- * Freedom to sell Lac, Silk, Cottonseeds, Mahua, Wax etc. to any merchant in the state.
- * Opening of Co-operative credit society.
- * Local people be given preference in state service in stead of bringing men from outside.

Course of the Movement :

Societies like Munda Unnati Samaj and Chota Nagpur Unnati Samaj sprang up and led to the formation of Adivasi Sabha which finally gave birth to the present Jharkhand Party in 1939. Jharkhand Party under the strong leadership of Jaipal Singh in its early career put forth the grievance of these tribes before the various feudatory state Governments and the Central Government. It also organised agitations in different corners of the Munda Country for the fulfillment of the claims of the local tribes. This party in 1939 took up the cause of the sufferings of the tribes of Gangpur State which corresponds to a part of Sundargarh District in Orissa. These people suffered because of the imposition of the revised land revenue after. Indravilas Mukharjee's settlement Reports. Again the restriction imposed on their use of forest property had an adverse effect on their economy. The failure of crops in 1937 and 1938 is said to have increased the miseries of the people. The continuation of Bethi Begari was considered unjust by the people who had become conscious of it. Hence the local leaders like Nirmal Munda who had affiliation to the Jharkhand Party, roused the public opinion for a violent agitation by instigating these tribes to raise their voice against the Government and to launch a civil disobedience

movement in the State of Gangpur.

The precedent of such agitation was there in other tributary States in Orissa like Ranpur, where a British Assistant political Agent was murdered, to resist the collection of revenue, to refuse Bethi Begari to use forest property exclusively disregarding the state laws, to demand for a fresh survey and settlement of their lands and the wide recognition of their Khuntkatti Rights were the main features of their agitation. Thus a sort of anarchy prevailed in the small tributary state of Gangpur where J.R. Amarjee, the queen was the Regent for the minor successor. The State was passing through hard times due to the fall in revenue. Gangpur Darbar was restless to suppress the agitation of the tribes and to establish stability and order. Hence, the State Government accused Nirmal Munda and some of his associates under section 107, IPC for violating peace and acting against the security of the state. The State Police started searching for the accused Nirmal Munda who was absconding, on 25 April 1939, while the people had assembled in a public meeting at Simco of Raiboga Thana, the Munda Adibasis declined to pay the land revenue demand enhanced in the revision settlement concluded in 1936. A no-rent campaign was started. The state police force under the command of the then police Superintendent Sir Gaurishankar Sekhar Deo, assisted by a detachment of the military of the British Government under the command of Lt. Barridge along with some officers like S.D.M. Dewan and the Assistant political Agent surrounded the meeting ground which was near the house of Nirmal Munda.

About five hundred people had gathered from different corners of Munda Country to discuss their problems and to take steps to draw the attention of the Government to such problems. The sub-divisional Magistrate Sri B. Mohanty, demanded from the crowd present, the surrender of Nirmal. For a long time persuasive were used. The crowd paid no heed to it. The Sub-divisional Magistrate finally declared the assembly unlawful. Though this order was explained to the crowd in their Sadri Language, the crowd did not disperse. Finally the Assistant Political Agent rushed into the crowd with Superintendent of police, and pulled three to four persons from the crowd and handed them over to the police. The crowd then started a noise and began to clap and clamour. Then under

the instruction of the Assistant Political Agent, the Drill Master surrounded the house of Nirmal Munda with armed police. The Assistant Political Agent, then being accompanied by the S.D.M. Superintendent of police, tried to make a forced entrance into the house through the backdoor where Nirmal had taken shelter.

But the crowd violently resisted the entry of police into Nirmal's house. As a result of which some of the police constables were wounded. The mob was also alleged to have assaulted the assistant political Agent, But the state police force came to his aid and he managed to escape from the violent crowd. In the mean time firing started from some corners behind the crowd. The armed police as well as the troops fired on the mob. The mob started dropping down, when the Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Political Agent ordered cease fire, Nirmal came out and was arrested. The police, then disposed of the deadbodies made necessary arrangements to send the injured to nearest hospitals. The number of attendants were more than 3000, the firing continued for 2 to 3 minutes. According to the reports of Superintendent of Police only eighteen dead bodies were fetched in three bullock cart to Raiboga which were then carried on the army lorries to Biramitrapur for inquest and post-mortem. But from the reports of Nirmal Munda, there were forty one dead bodies that he could identify in the spot. The S.P further reported that he was ignorant as regards who had issued the firing order. Then he made enquiries afterwards he was informed that the troops had started firing on the mob in order to protect the life of the assistant political Agent. It is quite oblivious that the firing started to protect the assistant political Agent, as a few months before that incident another Assistant Political Agent was put to death at Ranpur. But the incident which claimed death in large numbers, none of the high officials dared to bear the responsibility for this tragedy, it can be presumed from the above explanations that the Assistant Political Agent was responsible for the tragedy more than any other officer then present at Simko.⁶⁷

The British government however justified the tragic inhuman massacre on the ground that it saved the person of Assistant Political Agent. Dhananjaya Mohanty, the organizer of Gangpur prajamandala, after verification of the documents of

Khirjus Munda of Mouza Birkera, disclosed the imposition of more taxation means increasement of 9 Annas to 16 on him was illegal. It had been decided by the Gangpur Darbar that 14 Annas will be collected from the lands- Kudar means situated on the river banks. It was found that villages of Khaira Bondha and Jada Kudar were forced to pay that increased revenue. For the above declaration.

The Amko-Simko Firing:

But the Rani remained passive to the legitimate grievances of the people, which intensified the discontent. The tribals under the leadership of Nirmal Munda continued their "No Rent" campaign. When all persuasive measures adopted by the state administration to cool down the rebels failed, the Durbar took recourse to coercive measures for the recovery of arrears and current rents. Some criminal cases were filed against the leaders of the agitation, warrants of arrest against some of the agitators involved in other serious cases were renewed and their land were ordered to be confiscated. But all these coercive measures failed to curb down the movement. Secret meetings were organized in different parts of the state. In order to control this deteriorating situation in the tribal belt the secretary of Lutheran council advised the Durbar to take every possible measure against the agitators.

When all these orchestrated efforts failed the Rani Saheba resorted to the use of British Army. The queen shut the help of political agent W.M. Marger whose office was located at Sambalpur. Soldiers were deputed to the Gangpur State and arrested a few leaders of the no-rent campaign. Hence a conspiracy was hatched out by the political agent W.M. Marger that queen would come to Simko near Raiboga to fulfill the demands of the people. The real intention of this conspiracy was to arrest Nirmal Munda the apostle of this agitation.

The agitators became hopeful and a mass meeting in an extensive ground in the village Simko, facing the house of Nirmal Munda. About 800 tribals tenants from the villages like Brahmanamara Mouza, Jalanagbira, Teliposh in the Biramitrapur Zone, Purnapani, Nuagaon, Surda, Luaram, Kadalka, Jital, Jada Kudar, Khaira Bandh and Dahijira were present in this meeting. Rani Saheba and the Dewan were also present before the agitators in the meeting. Two platoons of troops under the British Officer accompanied by the sub-

divisional officer and Asst. Political Agent Capt, BISCCO went to the spot to effect the arrest of Nirmal Munda under section 332 IPC for attacking a Chowkidar. Like a bolt from the blue the Asst. Political Agent battalion curdened up the meeting from three sides. They enquired the where about of Nirmal Munda as their strategy was to arrest him. Apprehending troubles each and every tribals present there identified themselves as Nirmal Munda. We come across different versions on the actual course of action taken by the authority. S. Pati writes that the agitators were given sufficient time to disperse and surrender Nirmal Munda to them. But the agitators remained adamant. The civil police attempted to disperse the mob but failed. The angry mob, which was armed with lathis, axes, arrows and bows, enclosed the house of Nirmal Munda with a cordon and attacked the police. They infact registered the arrest of their leader and snatched away one rifle from them. The troops were then order to fire on the poor tribal people.

Dhananjay Mohanty, a venteran leader of Prajamandal movement in Gangpur writes that the mob was completely non violent. The incident that resulted when each tribal present their indetified himself as Nirmal Munda. The captain became angry and proceeded towards the house of Nirmal Munda. On the way to his house one Mania Munda was stabbed to death with the bayonet of the captain. The son of Mania Munda being angry attempted to hit the captain with his stick. The captain lowered down his head and the stick dashed against the low roofed thatch of the house. The captain whistled the signal for firing.

The firing continued for two to three minutes. The official report states that 30 Mundas were killed on the spot, 50 were wounded and Nirmal Munda was arrested, Sarangadhar Dash the prominent Garjat leaders of Orissa maintained it to be 65 and S.C.C.W.O. Sundargarh, recorded it to be 42. But the non official report states that as many as 3000 people were in the gathering out of which 300 people died on the spot. Some people who were injured left the place out of fear and those who were severely wounded could not leave the place and died shortly after that. The dead bodies were kept in the military vans under the cover of tarpaulins and they were thrown in to the furnace of Bisra Lime Stone Factory in Birmitrapur, Dhananjay Mohanty writes that after this incident the dead bodies of 40 tribal

including 2 women were found and 82 people were reported to have been severely injured. 39 dead bodies were buried in the crematory of Brahmanamara village and one in the village of Teliposh.

Teh firing resulted in the arrest of Nirmal Munda and with his arrest the agitation collapsed abruptly. The sufferings of the peoples of Gangpur in the Amko-Simko firing on 25th April 1939 evoked keen sympathy among the people of Sambalpur. Dayananda Satapathy a leading congressaite proceeded to Gangpur to inquiry into the states of affair prevailing there. But he was refused entry into the state by its authority. There upon a public meeting was convened at Telenpalli under the Presidentship of Sradhakar Supkar that demanded the institution of an impartial inquiry in to the firing.

Such a thrilling incident took place on the land of tribals wouldnot find place in the post independent history till the end of the 20th century. However now we are observing Amko-Simko day to commemorate the heroic revolution of tribals against British Raj for their rights.

Dhananjaya Mohanty was regarded as the creator of unrest in the region. That is why he was forced to shift his residence from Panposh to Sundargarh and was told to meet the Superintendent of Police at the Capital of Gangpur. Residing there he consulted with Bahadur Bhagat of Jambahal, Nirmal Munda of Baratoli, Tinus Munda and Yukub Guria of Dahijara to form Prajamandala for the solution of problems of Gangpur. But due to non-co-operation of Nirmal Munda, the plan was ended in failure.

No doubt that firing was the most tragic event in the history of tribals agitations of 20 Century. The agitators assembled at Amco-Simko on 25 April, 1939 near Raiboga in Nagra Zamindary belong to Brahmarmara Mouza, Jalangbira, Teliposh, Purnapani, Nuagaon, Suruda, Luharam, Kodalaka, Jital, Jadakudar, Khairabond and Dahijira. This event immediately put an end to the tribal agitation in Gangpur state. After paying a heavy price and with their leaders behind the bars, these tribes, for a time became quiet. But the relation between the Darbar and the tribes was stained. C.A. Hencock, the resident Eastern State Agency in order to harmonise the relation appointed a rent enquiry in the person of

Woodhouse with the concurrence of His Excellency the Crown Representative and with the consent of His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, Woodhouse duly held enquiry and submitted his reports. After the reports the resident issued certain instructions to the Gangpur Durbar and to the subjects who had withheld the payment of the revenue.

Nature of the Movement

The serious movement which took place in 1939 in the consequence of the enhancement of rent of Munda tenants who were all Christians in North Gangpur. The inspiration obviously came from Ranchi even though the Mundas of Ranchi were paying higher rent than the Christian Mundas of Gangpur. The Raja brought two missionaries from Ranchi to pacify the Christian Mundas but their speeches failed to produce any effect. It gradually gathered strength and ended in what is known as the Simco firing of 1930. On February 09, 1939 a largely signed petition was submitted to the regent Rani of Gangpur making a number of demands including abolition of Bethi Begari. But these demands were not passed pressed very far, what was pressed was the enhancement of rent. Nirmal Munda, a Christian was the leader of the movement. The attempt to arrest him led to the Simco firing of 25 April, 1939. On this occasion strong representation was made by the Congress Leaders of India asking for enquiry and redress etc. This was made the reason for the congress Leader of Orissa demanding the taking over of Gangpur State by the Government. They also praised the bravery of the Mundas. However by nature the movement was agrarian, it cannot go into an account of freedom struggle.

Post Movement Measures

With the effect of the financial year 1940-41 all rents of class -1 gora lands (up-lands) should be reduced by half and on class - 11 gora lands by 75% and enhancements on wet lands should be limited to 12% and no higher. As regards the collection of land revenue in the cases of defaulters of a year or more in arrears of 1943 and at the revised rate should be collected in full together with 50% of one year's defaulted rate, at the revised rate should be collected in full together with 50% of one year's defaulted rent, at the reduced rates and the process repeated each year till all the arrears are cleared up. In the cases of tenants who have paid regularly at the settlement rates excess payment should be reduced

year by year from their rents till all excesses have been refunded. A process which should be completed within 5 years. For the technical guidance of the Gangpur Darbar, an extract of paragraph 137 to 140 both inclusive of the woodhouse report is attached. The ownership of trees planted by tenants and the Durbar should be relinquished their ownership whenever practicable. An enquiry should be made in the practice of Gountias levied fees on transfer of land and appropriate orders passed.

Village Choukidars should be prohibited from levying a fee of one Anna in cash and a seer of rice or any other fee upon the occasion of a death in the village Choukidar should also be prohibited from realising a cash by for stationery. Khuntkatti rights (save in the case of Belhem Horb). Headman of village Jadakudar do not deserve generally to be recognized. If any person desires to claim the status of Khuntkattidar his claim should be examined on its individual merits. Proposals for any enhancement of land revenue as a result of irrigation facilities provided by the Darbar or the tenant shall be disposed of in accordance with the Bihar laws on the subject. The period of settlement should not be less than 20 years.

Defaulters should be given time until 1 October in which to pay outstanding demands reduced according to this documents. While the firing of Simko in 1939 in protection of the person of the Assistant Political Agent was fully justified by the violent and unconstitutional methods adopted by the persons who considered themselves aggrieved, it is considered that provided payment of arrears for 1940-41 and 1941-42 in full is made by due date compensation at the following rate should be paid by the Durbar. As on account of grace to the families of those killed and to person wounded at that time.

1. Rs. 100/- each payment to the families of those killed. For those wounded compensation on a graduated scale with a maximum of Rs. 50/- cash payment for complete disablement and minimum of Rs. 20/-. Inquiries to be assessed by the Chief Regional Officer.
2. The claim of sufficiently qualified subject of the State to State employment deserve sympathetic consideration.
3. Action should be taken to remove large on the deposit of food grains after considering what

steps and measures to protect the cultivation against own improvidence.

4. Debt redemption legislation should be introduced.
5. The number of the liquor shops in the State be reduced.

Instruction to Tenants

1. Arrears of land revenue calculated according to this documents should be paid by 1 October.
2. Act of lawlessness which in fact impede India's war effect should cease.
3. A demand for a general reclassification of land would not in the opinion of woodhouse with whom this Resident aggress be justified such a demand therefore should or should not be made.
4. The Durbar are justified in starting on class 'A' forests being strictly reserved and is declined to permit reclamation from those forest as regard class 'B' forest, it is estimated that the Nistar Cess is more than covered by the value of the timber which tenants are permitted to extract. Tenants should cease therefore committing offence against forest laws.

Execution of order

The above instructions were carried out by the Darbar. The Regent issued several proclamations to that effect. Several appeals were made to the subjects to maintain law and order in the State. By these measures, the annual income of the State was reduced by Rs. 50,000/-. Nirmal Munda and fourteen others were prosecuted and they never defended the charges made against them. Rigorous imprisonment of different terms were awarded to the convicts. Several other persons were acquitted by the first class Magistrate of the Gangpur state.⁷⁴

Attitude of Indian National Congress

For the investigation of the event Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru consulted with Pt. Laxmi Narayan Mishra and local Congress Leaders, tried to go to the place but was not permitted. Mahatma Gandhiji did not allow them to start Satyagraha in Gadjat area. Then Pt. Laxmi Narayan Mishra with Satyagrahis marched towards Sundargarh but they were blocked after crossing 7 kilometres from Jharsuguda in Gangpur State. The Congress Leader Dayananda Satpathy of Sambalpur marched towards Gangpur but was not permitted to enter the State. After some days Mahatma Gandhi with

Kasturba and Mahadev Desai at Kalunga Station waited 15 minutes to know the incident, he had asked some questions to Dhanajaya Mohanty and Sashibusan Panigrahi. Ganesh Singh had accompanied Gandhiji to Panposh Railway Station. The agitators were arrested and some were rewarded with capital punishments. As a result of the East and Central region of Gangpur State lost faith on the fair policy of Durbar. The Jhakhandis of Chhota Nagpur region became an inspiring for the agitators. This unrest in Gangpur helped the formation of Prajamandal in future.

On record the following persons were killed on the spot

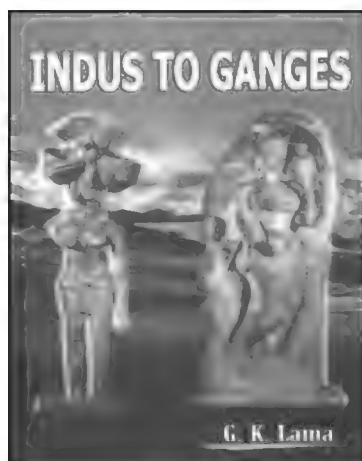
1. Maina Munda (Tani)
2. Nirmal Munda (Kerketta)
3. Fulmani Gunani (Kongadi)
4. Labdan Munda (Bodra)
5. Harun Mund (Lugun) 6. Nathaneil Munda (Lugun)
7. Martin Munda (Horo)
8. Nathaneil Munda (Lugun)
9. Christochi Munda (Horo)
10. Johan Munda (Dang)
11. Sudan Munda (Baga)
12. Anasi Munda (Toppo)
13. Dhanmasi Khadia (Bilung)
14. Fanuel Oraon (Kujur)
15. Khuyun Munda (Surin)
16. Dhuran Oraon (Lakra)
17. Ahlad Oraon (Toppo)
18. Bhodro Oraon (Barwa)
19. Bhuran Oraon (Lakra)
20. Seuga Munda (Lugun)
21. Budhwa Munda (Kandulana's Wife)
22. Paulus Munda (Purty)
23. Buchku Oraon (Kachua)
24. Jeetu Oraon (Lakra)
25. Bhulu Oraon (Tirkey)
26. Christbiswas Oraon
27. Dhanwasi Oraon (Dhanwar)
28. Mansid Oraon (Kindo)
29. Daud Oraon (Minz)
30. Francis Khadia (Kerketta)

31. Yano Khadia (Kerketta)
32. Christotem Eric (Jojo)
33. Christodhan Munda (Bage)
34. Paulus Oraon (Dhanwar)
35. Sadi Munda (Hanuman)
36. Sukhram Munda (Horo)
37. Jhari Khadia (Kerketta)
38. Bhutlu Khadia (Indwar)
39. Dhuran Oraon (Lakra)
40. Manmasi Munda (Bhengra)
41. Nichodin Minda (Surin)
42. Muna Khaida (Dung Dung)
43. Jhankhda Bhengra
44. Ohas Munda (Horo)
45. Daud Munda (Bage)
46. Gaja Oraon (Tirkey)
47. Samuel Oraon (Tirkey)
48. Khusus Oraon
49. Bhawa Oraon (Tirkey)
50. Christonand Munda (Lugun)
51. Suleman Munda (Dang)
52. Janmasi Munda (Surin)
53. Jachrias Munda (Soy)
54. Etwa Oraon (Soy)
55. Luis Munda (Horo)

All the 55 persons were Sahid in the AMKO-SIMKO firing in 25th April 1939 A.D.



Book Review



Book Title : '*Indus to Ganges*'; **Author :** G. K. Lama*; **Published by :** Kala Prakashan, Varanasi; **Publication Year :** 2009; **Number of Pages :** xiv+300, 20 plates; **ISBN :** 8189921804; **Price :** ₹ 3,500.00

Contents : Preface. I. The Indus valley civilization: 1. Origin. 2. Important sites. 3. Art and architecture. 4. Society. 5. Religion. 6. Economy. 7. Polity. 8. End of the civilization. Conclusion. II. The Indo Aryans: 1. The Indian response. 2. Theories of non-Indian origin. 3. Sapta Sindhu theory. 4. Arctic theory. 5. Theory of upper Godavari- Narmada Doab. 6. Anthropomorphic appellations. 7. Floral and faunal factors. 8. Metallurgical factors-copper, iron, gold. 9. Hydraulic factors. III. The early Vedic culture: 1. Society. 2. Economy. 3. Religion. 4. Polity. IV. The later Vedic culture: 1. Society. 2. Economy. 3. Religion. 4. Polity. V. The age of Mahajanpadas: 1. Society. 2. Economy. 3. Polity. 4. Religion. VI. Trends and patterns of second urbanization: 1. Northern India. 2. Eastern India. 3. Central India. 4. Western India. 5. Southern India. Conclusion: 1. Phases of urban growth. 2. Causes of urban decline. Bibliography. Illustrations.



Historical events in the form of a connected narrative in a sequential order requires capable handling of the data available, which comprise of the literary tradition and archaeological evidence. The connecting link and the way by which the events and situations are understood and subsequently absorbed are aspects that test the historian's ability to grasp and present the historical details in the right perspective. Some facts do overweigh in the nature of preponderant evidence, but that possibly could not tilt the balance in favour of a conclusion that may have to be changed later with fresh more positive and concrete historical postulates. A matter of fact approach to study the historical details will be the rightful means to get the core features and once these are properly understood, the historian will have no impediments in proceeding further step-by-step, in the chartered course of reconstructing the events and solving the complex features of the narratives by his own value-based judgments.

In such situation, it is reasonable to ponder the view point of an archaeologist approaching to deal with the situation and facing the mass of evidence of literature and his own material and artefactual data in reconstructing the core features and presenting a cohesive history. No doubt, the time -tested historical narratives and supporting literary output do necessitate careful consideration, while equally the inferences that are drawn from archaeological evidence of solid cultural findings and perhaps, here, the ability to strike a balance in rebuilding the historical evidence will really be a difficult task to achieve.

INDUS TO GANGES, by Dr. G.K. Lama is one such book that follows the procedure of narrating the historical facts and archaeological

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evidence side-by-side drawing inferences basing on the merit of the available sources. Theoretical formulations, as the historical trend existing have been given proper weight and also discussed at length. It is difficult to draw a line, but there are some prevailing historically accepted facts which have been considered to keep up the tempo and linking the connectivity, but now fresh inputs are coming up which are likely to pose a problem needing a change in re-interpretation and possibly, thoroughly reversing some of the widely recognised historical confabulations, prevalent for the last century and a half.

The subject matter has been contained in six chapters and follows an accepted historical formula from the beginning of the Chalcolithic phase of the Indus civilization to the Early Historic Period of the Age of Mahajanapadas and with finally, an additional chapter on the second Urbanization and beginning of urban facie listing the settlements identified with a brief description of the features.

Indus valley civilization comprise of a sizeable portion of the book covering a wide geographical and cultural spectrum, with the main focus on its spread and subsequent decline, with its attendant causes are discussed at length. A more detailed emphasis on the burial remains and their racial analysis are meaningful, but needs positive evidence to use them.

A theoretical exercise has been formulated on the Indo-Aryans in the next chapter, albeit quite polemical in content, including an attempt has been made to meaningfully devise an alternative chronology on the traditional pattern, well worth looking at, for discussion.

A more detailed version follows in two succeeding chapters entitled the Early Vedic and Later Vedic Culture. Both of them deal elaborately on the culture formations and societal pattern and way of life, including economy, trade and commerce. Detailed description of the Rigvedic deities and the wholesome religious content-all of them vividly find reference in the Early Vedic discourse, in a systematic presentation. Continuing further on similar lines in Later Vedic times, there is diversity in the nature of new features, and improved developments, consequent on diffusion of people and extension of geographical confines to new pastures. By nature, this leads to fresh and positive growth in expanded economy, specially in the fields

of agriculture, trade and commerce, industries and transport. An elaborate emphasis on the caste system, including position of women and increasing societal obligations-all of which find special emphasis. The wide gap that exists at both ends of the Period and applicability of the chronological time frame in the absence of any historical connotation needs fresh in puts and clarity specially in a study of this nature.

A shift to focus on more firmer ground is visible in the next chapter, the Age of Mahajanapadas. Tradition, historical literature and archaeological evidence lend strong support to the political structure that come to the fore in whole of north India. A detailed study of the political formation and consequent development of the pattern of planning of settlements of towns and dwelling places have been undertaken and meaningfully described basing on the reliable historical traditions recounted in Buddhist and Jain literature. Apart from the Sodasa Mahajanapadas being the main focus of attention, some references are made to the prevalent conditions in society, religious affinities, economy trade including their food habits. This historical 'thrust' needs an archaeological 'push' for making the whole theme, culturally viable with strong social connectivity.

Arising out of the focus of projection of various trends and cross currents existing, the need of the hour is to identify these factors which crystallized into basic features and played a decisive role in the slow and steady development of the settlements with certain bench marks, uniformly and equally applicable. Some able efforts have been made in the last chapter of Trends and Patterns of Second Urbanization. While analyzing the problem in the global context, as is the natural existing trend, it is needless to emphasise, some other factors do play a key role, specific to the area or region. These factors have to be identified on the basis of the existing evidence and apply them for understanding the origin, growth and development of the towns and various urban features. There is also an attempt has been made to identify such features and a list made of the foremost towns and settlements numbering more than 140 on so.

The subject matter is presented in an understandable style, free flowing and more so, historical in nature, hence readable to a large extent. There is no deviation in the historical narrative of

the established facts, well known, and the method followed is of a standard nature, quite appreciable. From the very beginning the author has devised the subject slots in such a way that they are self contained in nature. There is a marginal overlap in the contents of Early and Later Vedic cultures-both of which need precise scope and extent.

One prominent aspect has to be emphasised. There is a need to carefully analyse the archaeological data and understand the specific features in relevance to a standard chronology based on solid evidence. This could be followed by connecting the core regional and local traits of such a type relevant to a known defined geographical zone. There is need to identify the local features in terms of planning of the settlement various crafts materials of everyday use, ceramics and specific culturally sustainable features for instance religious motifs, symbols etc. There is a need to have a breakthrough so that the literary and historical traditions and the archaeological data could be effectively put to test and get a cogent and meaningful information. The present book is just a beginning in that direction.

—Dr. C. Margbandhu *



* Director, ASI (Retd.)

॥ नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित् ॥



अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना संस्थान की गतिविधियाँ : कलियुगाब्द 5116 (2014 ईसवी)

चिन्तन बैठक (भाद्रपद कृष्ण द्वादशी-चतुर्दशी,
कलियुगाब्द 5116 तदनुसार दिनांक 22-24 अगस्त,
2014 ई०)



मंचासीन अतिथियों के स्वागत किया गया। योजना के महासचिव डॉ० शरद हेबाळकर ने योजना के अबतक के हुए कार्यों का संक्षिप्त परिचय और इस दो-दिवसीय 'चिन्तन बैठक' की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की। इस बैठक में योजना ने प्रमुख पाँच विषयों को लिया : 1. इतिहास लेखन पद्धति, 2. जनजातीय इतिहास, 3. पुराणान्तर्गत इतिहास, 4. जिलों का इतिहास एवं 5. आगामी राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन

1. इतिहास लेखन पद्धति (हिस्टोरियोग्राफी)

प्रथम सत्र 'इतिहास लेखन पद्धति' विषय का रहा, जिसका विषय-प्रवेश योजना के सचिव प्रो० ईश्वरशरण विश्वकर्मा ने किया। योजना के पूर्व राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष प्रो० ठाकुर प्रसाद वर्मा द्वारा इस विषय का प्रतिपादन हुआ। प्रो० वर्मा ने सदीप व्याख्यान (पॉवर प्वाइंट) के द्वारा इस विषय को सबके सामने क्रमबद्ध रूप से रखा। सर्वप्रथम

अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना की 'चिन्तन बैठक' भाद्रपद कृष्ण द्वादशी, कलियुगाब्द 5116 (22 अगस्त, 2014 ई०) को सरदार कृषि महाविद्यालय (सरदार कृषि नगर, पालनपुर, गुजरात) में प्रातः 11 बजे सरस्वती वन्दना और अतिथियों द्वारा दीप-प्रज्वलन के पश्चात् संकल्प वाचन से प्रारम्भ हुई। योजना के राष्ट्रीय कार्यकारी समिति सदस्य डॉ० गिरीश भाई ठाकर द्वारा



उन्होंने योजना के प्रतीक-चिह्न 'इतिहास पुरुष' का वर्णन किया। उन्होंने बताया कि इतिहास धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष को देनेवाला होना चाहिए और यह दृष्टि केवल अखिल भारतीय इतिहास संकलन योजना के पास ही है। उन्होंने भारत की भौगोलिक सीमा का वर्णन विभिन्न साक्ष्यों के आधार पर करते हुए बताया कि भारत की सीमा अफगानिस्तान में वक्षु नदी की घाटी तक फैली हुई थी। कन्याकुमारी से लेकर यहाँ तक के क्षेत्र को भारतीय राजाओं का चक्रवर्ती क्षेत्र माना जाता था और इसका वर्णन 11वीं शताब्दी तक लेखों तक आता है। इसलिए यूरोपीय धारणा ने जो जो भारत की सीमा दी है, उसे नहीं मानना चाहिए। काल की दृष्टि से हमारा इतिहास मनु से प्रारम्भ होता था जो 12 करोड़ वर्ष पूर्व हुए थे। भारत की प्राचीनता सारस्वत सभ्यता और गाँगेय सभ्यता है। भारत का इतिहास मानवता का इतिहास है, पौराणिक इतिहास है। उन्होंने इतिहास के स्रोत वेद, पुराण, प्राचीन भारतीय वाङ्मय, भूगर्भविज्ञान एवं पुरातत्त्व को माना। उन्होंने

इतिहास को पारिभाषित करते हुए कहा कि इतिहास को उद्देश्यपरक होना चाहिए, पौराणिक इतिहास केवल सूचनाओं का सूचीपत्र नहीं है अपितु धर्म, अर्थ, काम व मोक्षप्राप्ति का साधन है। सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, मन्वन्तर, वंश तथा वंशानुचरित इसके लक्षण हैं। इतिहास के रथ के दो पहिए हैं काल और भूगोल जिसे मनुष्य खींचता है और यह इतिहास के मूल तत्त्व हैं। पौराणिक कालगणना विश्व की सर्वाधिक वैज्ञानिक कालगणना है। प्रत्येक मन्वन्तर 30 करोड़ 68 लाख 20 हजार वर्ष का होता है। प्रो० वर्मा ने भूगर्भशास्त्र को इतिहास का मुख्य अंग माना। पुरातत्त्व और वैदिक साहित्य की विसंगतियों से भी अवगत कराया। सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ से लेकर वर्तमान तक के इतिहास की रेखा खींचते हुए प्रो० वर्मा ने इतिहास-लेखन को 'इतिहास विद्या' का नाम दिया। प्रो० वर्मा ने इतिहास-लेखन के सात सूत्र बताये और योजना के बोधवाक्य 'नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित्' का महत्त्व बतलाते हुए इस विषय का पूर्ण प्रतिपादन किया। दूसरे सत्र में विषय के प्रतिपादन के पश्चात्





विचार-विमर्श चला जिसमें देशभर से आए हुए इतिहासकारों, विद्वानों ने अपने-अपने सुझाव व विचार व्यक्त किये।

2. जनजातीय इतिहास

योजना के महासचिव डॉ० शरद हेबाळकर ने इस के विषय का प्रतिपादन किया। उन्होंने इस विषय की विस्तृत भूमिका रखी और बताया कि अभी तक हो रहे अध्ययन का क्षेत्र सीमित है अतः इस विषय पर विस्तृत अध्ययन और शोध होना चाहिए। जनजातियों की विद्या का धार्मिक ग्रन्थों और परम्पराओं से तादात्म्य स्थापित करने और उसपर शोध व अध्ययन की आवश्यकता है। जनजातियों के इतिहास को हम भारत से अलग की दृष्टि से नहीं देख सकते। हम बिना जनजातीय भाषा का अध्ययन किए इनका इतिहास नहीं लिख सकते। उनकी परम्परा का आधार उनका मौखिक ज्ञान है। हमें भाषाओं के सन्दर्भ में इतिहास को देखने की आवश्यकता होगी, साथ ही इनकी लिपि का अध्ययन भी आवश्यक है। हरेक जनजातीय का एक नासदीय सूक्त है, पृथ्वी की उत्पत्ति की कल्पना है। सागर, पहाड़ी, वनों से जुड़ी जनजातियों का वर्गीकरण करके कार्य किया जा सकता है। इनके विषय के रूप में युद्ध, धनुर्वेद, स्थालान्तरण, नासदीय सूक्त, भाषा, लिपि, सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक अनुबन्ध, कृषि, संस्कृति, औद्योगिक, आयुर्वेद, कालगणना, भौगोलिक विद्या, व्यापार, संस्कृति आदि हो सकते हैं। विभिन्न उदाहरणों और प्रमाणों के अवलोकन में डॉ० हेबाळकर ने विस्तार से इस विषय का प्रतिपादन किया और कहा कि हमें अनुसन्धान केन्द्रों के माध्यम से विद्वानों का समूह बनाकर कार्य करने की आवश्यकता है। विषय-प्रतिपादन के पश्चात् सदन में इस विषय पर विस्तृत चर्चा हुई और विद्वानों और इतिहासकारों ने अपने सुझाव व निर्देश दिये। इस सत्र की अध्यक्षता करते हुए डॉ० आनन्द शंकर सिंह जी ने कहा कि शोध के बिन्दुओं को समझना और उसपर डॉ० हेबाळकर द्वारा दिये निर्देशों के आधार पर इतिहास-लेखन का

प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। तथाकथित सभ्य समाज की संस्कृति सोशियो-कल्चरल फार्मेशन के प्रासेस के बिना जनजातियों के इतिहास का अध्ययन सम्भव नहीं हो पाता। वे हमारे आदिम स्रोत हैं। भारत, भारतीयता व मानवता को समझने के लिए जनजातियों का अध्ययन करना होगा।

3. पुराणांतर्गत इतिहास

इस विषय का प्रतिपादन योजना के संगठन सचिव मा० बालमुकुन्द जी ने किया। उन्होंने दिल्ली में चल रहे 'भारतीय पुराण अध्ययन संस्थान' के प्रकल्प की पूर्ण जानकारी दी और इसके अंतर्गत होनेवाले आगामी कार्यक्रमों की रूपरेखा सबके समक्ष रखी। उन्होंने कहा कि सर्वप्रथम हमें अपने पुराणों के प्रति श्रद्धा होनी चाहिए और भारतीय दृष्टि से पुराणों का शोध व अध्ययन होना चाहिए, इसके सभी विषयों पर कार्य होना चाहिए, सम्भवतः ऐसा कोई विषय नहीं है जो पुराणों में न हो। इसके लिए देशभर में विद्वानों का एक समूह बनाकर कार्य करने की आवश्यकता है। बालमुकुन्द जी ने पुराणों में वर्णित विभिन्न आख्यानों का उदाहरण देते हुए उसकी सत्यता पर सवाल उठानेवालों को अपनी समझ विकसित करने की सलाह दी। उन्होंने कहा कि पुराणकारों ने किसी छात्रवृत्ति या सम्मान के लिए राज्याश्रित होकर पुराणों की रचना नहीं की बल्कि समाजकल्याण के लिए वेदों को सरल रूप में आमजन के लिए ग्राह्य बनाया। हमें ज़रूरत इस बात की नहीं है कि इसे कपोल-कल्पित कहकर नकार दें बल्कि इसे समझने का प्रयास करें और अपनी क्षमता के अनुसार इस पर शोध करें। जो समझ में आये, उसे उद्घाटित करें, जो न समझ में आये उसे अगली पीढ़ी पर छोड़ दें। उन्होंने कहा कि योजना इसी लक्ष्य को लेकर आगे बढ़ रही है। सर्वप्रथम पुराणों से सम्बन्धित जो भी सामाग्री देश-विदेश में उपलब्ध है, उसका संकलन करना और उस आधार पर विद्वानों के द्वारा उसपर कार्य करवाना। योजना यह चाहती है कि देशभर के विद्वान् इस प्रकल्प



से जुड़ें और भारतीय दृष्टि से पुराणों को आधार बनाकर भारत के वास्तविक इतिहास को उद्घाटित करें। विषय-प्रतिपादन के बाद पूर्ववत् इसपर चर्चा का सत्र चला और सदन में उपस्थित विद्वानों ने अपने सुझाव दिये। इस सत्र की अध्यक्षता कर रहे योजना के विद्वत् प्रमुख प्रो० एस०पी० बंसल जी ने कहा कि हमें 'हिस्ट्री' से 'इतिहास' में आने की आवश्यकता है। रोमिला थापर और रामशरण शर्मा ने भारतीय इतिहास को नष्ट कर दिया है जिसे सुधारा जाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। उन्होंने कहा कि योजना का एक विजन डॉक्यूमेन्ट बनना होना चाहिए साथ ही एक न्यूज़ लेटर भी शुरू होना चाहिए।

4. ज़िलों का इतिहास

इस विषय को योजना के माननीय अध्यक्ष प्रो० सतीश चन्द्र मित्तल जी ने सदन के समझ रखा। उन्होंने कहा कि योजना के द्वारा इतिहास की एक सर्वमान्य परिभाषा देनी चाहिए। प्रो० मित्तल ने कहा कि 1817 में जेम्स मिल ने इतिहास के काल का निर्धारण किया था, 1956 में के०एम० मुंशी ने जेम्स मिल के इतिहास की अवधारणा को बदलने की बात रखी थी और और इतिहास के काल-विभाजन को चार भागों में बाँटने की बात रखी थी। फिर 1960 में श्रीराम साठे ने इतिहास की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की और अब प्रो० ठाकुर प्रसाद वर्मा ने भारतीय

इतिहास के काल को 5 भागों में— 1. महाभारत-पूर्व, 2. महाभारत से 12वीं शताब्दी, 3. इस्लामी काल, 4. यूरोपीय काल और 5. 1947 के बाद के काल की रूपरेखा दी है। उन्होंने कहा भारतीय विद्वानों द्वारा प्रस्तुत किये गये इन महत्वपूर्ण मुख्य बिन्दुओं पर विचार होना चाहिए। प्रो० मित्तल ने अपने विचार रखते हुए भारतीय इतिहास के कालक्रम को चार भागों में बाँटकर देखने की बात की— 1. सांस्कृतिक काल, 2. संघर्ष काल, 3. पुनर्जागरण काल और 4. 1947 के बाद भटकाव का काल। उन्होंने कहा कि यूरोपीयों का सारा इतिहास जीवन के अन्त तक सीमित है जबकि हमारे इतिहास की सोच जन्म से पूर्व और मृत्यु के बाद की भी है। प्रो० मित्तल ने इस विषय पर विस्तार से चर्चा की और सचेत किया कि अपनी लेखन-पद्धति में बदलाव होना चाहिए, पाश्चात्य आधार पर लेखन बन्द होना चाहिए। उनकी अच्छी बातें लेनी चाहिए, लेकिन दृष्टि भारतीय होनी चाहिये।

प्रो० मित्तल द्वारा प्रस्तुत ज़िले के इतिहास व इतिहास-लेखन पद्धति पर विस्तृत आलेख आगे वर्णित है, फिर भी उनके द्वारा इस विषय में सुझाए गए कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दुओं को उल्लिखित करना श्रेयस्कर होगा। प्रो० मित्तल ने ज़िले के इतिहास-लेखन के निमित्त कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दुओं को सदन के समक्ष रखा, जैसे— भौगोलिक परिवेश,



ऐतिहासिक विवेचन, धार्मिक स्थिति, सामाजिक स्थिति, आर्थिक, कला, शिक्षा, राजनीतिक गतिविधियाँ, प्रशासकीय आदि। उन्होंने ज़िले के इतिहास-लेखन से संबंधित सावधानियों पर भी सबका ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। उन्होंने कहा कि संकीर्णता से बचना चाहिए और समानान्तर विचार रखना चाहिए। इस लेखन के लिए सहायक सामाग्री के लिए उन्होंने कहा कि पुरातत्त्व-संबंधी स्रोत, चित्र, प्राचीन मन्दिर, साहित्यिक स्रोत, जनगणना रिपोर्ट का भी सहारा होना चाहिए, हर गाँव की विलेज डायरेक्टरी और लैण्ड सेटेलमेंट रिपोर्ट होती है, म्युनिसिपल कमिटी, ग्राम पंचायत के रिकॉर्ड, कमिशनरी व ज़िले के रिकॉर्ड को प्राप्त करने का प्रयास करें। धनपतियों के बहीखाते भी स्रोत का कार्य करेंगे, साथ ही बुजुर्गों का साक्षात्कार भी महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत है। योजना के महासचिव डॉ० शरद हेबालकर ने इस सत्र की अध्यक्षता करते हुए योजना द्वारा इस विषय पर अब तक किये हुए कार्यों को बताया और इस विषय को सदन के सामने चर्चा के लिए रखा। पूर्व की भाँति इस विषय पर गहन चर्चा हुई और विद्वानों द्वारा अनेक विचार और सुझाव दिये गये। जैसा कि पूर्व में कहा गया है कि मा० अध्यक्ष जी के इस विषय पर विस्तृत विवेचन इस वृत्त के अन्त में प्रस्तुत है।

आगामी राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन

चिन्तन बैठक में प्रस्तावित इस विषय को योजना के उपाध्यक्ष डॉ० देवी प्रसाद सिंह जी ने प्रस्तुत किया। उन्होंने भारतीय नारी और विश्व के प्ररिप्रेक्ष्य में नारी पर प्रमाणों सहित व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की और वर्तमान समय में घट रही घटनाओं और उसके समाधान हेतु भारतीय संस्कृति में नारी की स्थिति और समयातीत आई कुरीतियों का वर्णन करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि इस सभी समस्याओं का निदान हमारे भारतीय वाङ्मय में देखने को मिलती है। अतः वर्तमान की समस्या का बखान करने के बजाय शोध के द्वारा भारतीय वाङ्मय में वर्णित समाधान को रखा जाय। राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन से संबंधित जानकारी और सुझाव के साथ मा० उपाध्यक्ष जी ने आगामी राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन हेतु नारी विषय को अधिवेशन का केन्द्रीय विषय बनाने का प्रस्ताव रखा और सदन के समक्ष इस विषय को चर्चा के लिए प्रस्तुत किया। इस चर्चा में अधिवेशन से संबंधित विषय के अतिरिक्त अधिवेशन की अन्य गतिविधियों पर भी विस्तृत चर्चा हुई। शोधपत्रों का स्तर, उसके प्रस्तुतिकरण से लेकर उसके प्रकाशन तक का कार्य उच्च कोटि का होना चाहिए। शोधपत्रों के स्तर के आधार पर उनका वर्गीकरण होना



चाहिए और चुने हुए पत्रों का वाचन होना चाहिए। कुछ विद्वानों का विचार था कि नये लेखकों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए और उन्हें शोधपत्र-लेखन की विधा से परिचित कराना चाहिए। नारी विषय से संबंधित अन्य सुझाव भी और अधिवेशन के लिए अन्य विषय भी आये। अन्ततः नारी विषय को लेकर आम सहमति बनी और इस विषय पर आगे बढ़ने की बात आयी। राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन का स्थान कर्नाटक प्रांत में होना प्रस्तावित हुआ।

मुक्त चिन्तन

चिन्तन बैठक विषयवार चली और अन्तिम सत्र 'मुक्त चिन्तन' का रखा गया, जिसमें प्रत्येक सदस्य को विषय से संबंधित और उसके अतिरिक्त भी अन्य विषयों पर अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करने का अवसर मिला। इस सत्र में विभिन्न विषयों पर 24 विद्वानों ने अपने विचार सदन के सामने रखे, जिनमें प्रमुख रूप से सर्वश्री डॉ० देवी प्रसाद सिंह, प्रो० ईश्वरशरण विश्वकर्मा, नरेन्द्र शुक्ल, डॉ० सुभाष शर्मा, शरद अग्रवाल, डॉ० गणेश



भारद्वाज, डॉ० वैद्यनाथ लाभ, डॉ० राजीव चौबे, कुलदीप चन्द, हेमन्त धींग मजूमदार, डॉ० आर०पी० भारद्वाज, डॉ० महेश शरण, दत्तात्रेय, अरुण पाण्डेय, प्रो० अलकेश चतुर्वेदी, डॉ० हर्षवर्धन सिंह तोमर, प्रो० कृष्णराव, अनुराधा राजहंस, डॉ० प्रीति विश्वकर्मा, टी०वी० रंगराजन और जानकी नारायण श्रीमाली आदि रहे।

समापन-सत्र

श्री टी०वी० रंगराजन जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत भारत माँ के वन्दना के पश्चात् समापन-सत्र का प्रारम्भ हुआ। समापन-सत्र में योजना के मार्गदर्शक मा० मधुभाई कुलकर्णी, सरदार कृषि विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति प्रो० अशोक पटेल, कुलसचिव डॉ० एच०एन० खेर, योजना के अध्यक्ष प्रो० सतीश चन्द्र मित्तल, कार्यक्रम के संयोजक योजना के कार्यकारी सदस्य डॉ० गिरीश भाई ठाकर मंचासीन रहे। गिरीश भाई ने सर्वप्रथम मंचासीन अतिथियों के परिचय एवं सम्मान के साथ सबका आभार प्रकट किया। योजना के सचिव प्रो० ईश्वरशरण विश्वकर्मा जी ने चिन्तन बैठक में हुई चर्चा का सारांश सबके समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया। समापन-सत्र का प्रथम वक्तव्य देते हुए डॉ० एच०एन० खेर ने कहा कि भारतीय इतिहास, भारतीय दृष्टि से नहीं लिखा गया है। चाहे कोई विषय हो, बिना इतिहास के नहीं पढ़ा जा सकता है। मुझे विश्वास है कि आप इतिहास के नये आयाम बनायेंगे, जो प्रमाणों पर आधारित होगा। यह हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमें आपका स्वागत करने का मौका मिला। डॉ० खेर के उद्बोधन के पश्चात् कुलपति प्रो० अशोक पटेल ने अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किये। उन्होंने योजना का आभार व्यक्त करते हुए कहा कि मैं आप सभी विद्वानों को नमन करता हूँ यहाँ आपके समान अतिथि अभी तक नहीं आए हैं। हमारा कृषि विश्वविद्यालय भी आपके इतिहास के काम आये और हमारा कार्य भी इतिहास में दर्ज हो, ऐसी आशा है। तत्पश्चात् योजना के मार्गदर्शक मा० मधुभाई कुलकर्णी जी ने उद्बोधन में कहा कि हम जो भी कार्य इतिहास में करते हैं, उसके लिए ध्यान रखने योग्य बात है कि उसके मूल और उस दृष्टिकोण का ध्यान रखना चाहिए, जिससे सही बातें सामने लायी जा सकें और जो लेखन और अनुसन्धान की दृष्टि से ठीक हों। पश्चिम की और हमारे परिस्थितियों में अन्तर है और हमें इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये। उनकी दृष्टि भोगवाद की है और हमारी मानवतावाद की। उनकी दृष्टि स्वयं के अधिकारों की है और हमारी दृष्टि 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' की है।

'वन्देमातरम्' के पश्चात् योजना की त्रिदिवसीय चिन्तन बैठक का समापन हुआ।

विविध

चिन्तन बैठक के बीच अन्य कई गतिविधियाँ हुईं जिनमें प्रमुख थीं

योजना के उपाध्यक्ष प्रो० के०एन० दीक्षित द्वारा सरस्वती नदी पर सदीप व्याख्यान (पावर प्वाइंट प्रस्तुतिकरण), जिसके माध्यम से उन्होंने सरस्वती नदी के संबंध में अबतक की पुरातात्विक उपलब्धियों का वर्णन किया। भारतीय इतिहास संकलन समिति, चित्तौड़ प्रांत द्वारा उदयपुर में संपन्न क्षेत्रीय अधिवेशन की स्मारिका 'विदेशी आक्रमण का भारतीय प्रतिरोध' तथा 'सरस्वती नदी की कहानी' पुस्तक के गुजराती-संस्करण का विमोचन आदि विविध गतिविधियाँ भी हुईं। भारतीय इतिहास संकलन समिति, रायसेन द्वारा उद्घाटित नवीन पुरातात्विक खोज की चित्र-प्रदर्शनी लगायी गयी, साथ ही समिति के शोध दल के एक सदस्य डॉ० राजीव चौबे द्वारा उसका सदीप प्रस्तुतिकरण भी किया गया।

■ कार्यालय-सचिव



॥ नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित् ॥

इतिहास दर्पण ITIHAS DARPAN

ISSN 0974-3065

(Biannual Research Journal of Akhila Bhāratīya Itihāsa Saṅkalana Yojanā)

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